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A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF EARLY KARNATAKA

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that ***Smt. S. C. Kamalapur*** *has prepared this dissertation entitled* ***"A Historiographical Study of Early Karnataka"*** *on the basis of survey of secondary literary materials carried out by her under my supervision. It has not been submitted previously for any degree of any University.*

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PREFACE

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historiography, understood normally as 'history of history', is truly a discipline that examines histories written by historians. The purpose is to review the way or ways historians are looking at history, so that we can improve upon our knowledge of the past in its various dimensions and identify newer tools and paradigms of making the study of the past as objective, as comprehensive and as inclusive as possible. In the absence of historiographic studies our knowledge of past is likely to remain stagnant, may become stereotype and disinteresting, and even disgusting. As a machine requires overhauling, so also historical enquiry needs overhauling to keep satisfying to the requirements of the changing time and demanding society.

In the context of Indian historiography, one is well aware of the way in which approaches to the study of Indian history have changed

through time. There was a time when Indians were accused of lack of historical sense. But later on when the study of Indian history assumed the proper path, it became clearer and clearer that Indians did not lack in historical sense. What they lacked was a *regular* tradition of recording objective history. Indian epigraphs, over a lakh in number according to an estimate, are ample proofs of historical sense of the Indian, and, to an extent, even of keeping reliable record of events.

Ever since the attempts to understand and reconstruct India's past began, the perception of her ancient past has been undergoing change. And this changing perception of India's ancient past has been perceived well by modern scholars. [Thapar 2002: 1-36] The change of perception of the past in Indian context may be attributed to certain principal factors which may be listed as follows:

1. Discovery and accumulation of fresh historical data from variety of sources
2. Attitude of the historian using these data for historical reconstruction
3. The historical environment in which the historian belongs
4. Changing perceptions about the use of history

It may be postulated that these factors may collectively affect the nature and course of historiography as well as historiography's multiple strands in a particular period. Romila Thapar has provided an excellent account of the course of developments in the writing and understanding of early Indian history and culture and what follows is a summary of that account. [Ibid.]

At a time when one was at a loss to find any historical work to lay hand on, at least a bear historical reconstruction was necessitated. To achieve this, sources had to be identified, looked into critically for obtaining data and the reliable data so obtained had to be used for historical construction. It was like beginning from nowhere. This was exactly the problem at the beginning of the colonial rule in different parts of Indian subcontinent in the 18th Century. There was no readymade history of India available to the European colonialists. Save *Rajatarangini*, an exceptional history of Kashmir authored by Kalhana in the 11th Century AD, the European scholars were unable to find an Indian history that could be considered to conform to European view of 'objective history'. Hence 'colonial reconstructions' of Indian past took birth.

The principal strands of colonial reconstructions comprised the interpretations of the Orientalists and the Utilitarians. British officials employed in the British East India Company in England and India found themselves ill-equipped to cope up with the demands of efficient administration of acquired territory in the absence of knowledge of local culture, traditions, practices, norms and beliefs. Better acquaintance of the British officials with India's past and tradition was thought to strengthen the foundations of the British East India Company. This made them study Sanskrit, Persian, Bengali, Tamil and other Indian languages, write grammars of these languages in English for use the administrators, and translate the assumed legal works such as the *Dharmasastras.*

To aid and accelerate this work, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1784 by William Jones. As a consequence, abundant material about Indian past, tradition and custom was collected and brought to light that differed from those known to the European experience. William Jones and others like Henry Colebrooke and Charles Wilkins published seminal papers on aspects of Indian culture in *Asiatic Researches*, a periodical of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These scholars are described as 'Orientalists'. About this time the Romanticism had spread in Europe, and its perpetrators were averse to the fast changes being introduced by

industrialization. They found solace in the fantasies of Orientalism. A group of thinkers began to believe that Oriental fantasies were a panacea to liberate European thought from the increasing focus on discipline and rationality, bringing in another renaissance.

In the 19th Century, however, this enthusiasm changed. It was the belief in the superiority of the European civilization that dominated the European mind. To foster this belief, a new image of India was created. It was argued that the once great Oriental civilizations were now in decline. Non-historical aspects of Indian culture began to be emphasized. Indian society and religion was stated to have remained stagnant over thousands of years. Indians were argued to be concerned more with metaphysics and subtleties of religious belief than tangible aspects of life. German Romanticism endorsed this image of India. A distinction in Indian values and European values was emphasized, described by the phrases 'spiritual east' and 'materialistic west'. Even the Indian intelligentsia for a time found satisfaction in this 'spiritual superiority' and believed that European colonization of Asia was made possible by the 'technical superiority' of the West.

The Utilitarian legalistic philosophy then current in Britain provided another strand in the European interpretation of Indian past,

called the 'Utilitarian critique' of Indian culture. James Mill and Thomas Macaulay were among the first proposers of this view, supported partially by Evangelicals among the Christian missionaries for their own reasons. James Mill in his work *History of British India* produced in 1817, put forth the idea of dividing Indian history into three eras, called Hindu civilization, Muslim civilization and the British period respectively. This has been the most influencing 'periodization' and prevails even to this day, the difference being only in the terms used, viz. 'Ancient', 'Medieval' and 'Modern'. This periodization has contributed to a distortion of Indian history and placed impediments to objective research on historical change in the Indian context.

Utilitarian critique believed that Indian civilization lacked the qualities admired in Europe: values of rational thought and individualism were absent in India and India's culture was stagnant. Macaulay vehemently argued that traditional Indian education and learning were obsolete. He further argued that the political institutions of India were despotic with no regard whatsoever for public opinion. India needed change in both these respects. Mill argued on these propositions in his *History of British India.* His work became a text for 19th Century commentators and administrators associated with India. Utilitarian ideas

on India's past were based in contemporary European notions of Indian history and culture. 'Oriental Despotism' was one such theory. According to this theory the Asian ruler was a despot with absolute power backed by his association of divinity. He extracted the surplus produce of self-sufficient village communities, controlled irrigation and organized collection of surplus produce; the peasant had little freedom; the city was a centre of administration and commercial exchange was almost nonexistent. Thus Oriental Despotism had arrested the political economy of Asian empires, India being no exception. Karl Marx's 'Asiatic Mode of Production' was also based on similar perceptions. The Utilitarian believed that it was possible to liberate India from its backwardness through appropriate legislation.

In the latter half of the 19th Century, these trends derived from Orientalist and Utilitarian notions led to treating Asia as significantly different from Europe. Europe considered Asia, and hence India, among 'the Other'. The lack of a capitalist system was a question central to this theme, and the answer was believed to lie in the pre-modern history of society and religion of India. Marx proposed that despotism and stagnancy were basic characteristics of the 'Asiatic Mode of Production'. In the absence of private property, absence of intermediary groups between

kings and peasants and absence of classes, dialectical change was impossible as there could be no class conflicts. Absence of commercial centres and cities engaged in production for a market meant economic change impossible. This Marxian theory was discussed by Asian Marxists who could hardly find any evidence to support it. It stands to the credit of 20th Century historians like D.D. Kosambi [Kosambi 1956] to have made more appropriate understanding of Indian ancient past from the socio-economic point of view.

In discovering India's past, the European scholars were attracted by Sanskrit texts such as *Dharmashastras* which represented Brahmanical view. Oral and bardic traditions were documented by ethnographers but they were considered as not reliable. Hence no attempt was made to integrate this data with the Sanskritic. Thus the Sanskritic sources prevailed in reconstruction of various aspects of Indian past. During the 19th Century the discipline called Indology – the study of India by non-Indians came into vogue. Using European methods of investigation, various aspects of India including languages and literature, ethnology and religion become commonplace. The ancient scripts of India – Brahmi and Kharoshthi – came to be deciphered by James Prinsep in 1830s. This contributed to the study of a vast body epigraphic material throwing light

on various aspects of history, including Ashokan studies. Alexander Cunningham explored the *Ancient Geography of India* taking Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan Tsang's travelogue as the guide. Apart from Sanskrit texts, the Buddhist Pali texts and Jaina Prakrit texts were also subjected to careful study bringing out new data that could be used for historical reconstruction. Field surveys of Cunningham, Burgess and several others added tangible archaeological data on various aspects of India's past including epigraphy, art and architecture.

The latter half of 19th Century saw, principally on account of Max Muller's writings on India, an emphasis on notions of race which influenced Indology. It is an irony that Max Muller, like James Mill, had never visited India, but his studies made great impact on historical thought of India of 19th-20th Centuries. At one stage of writing on the basis of the study of *Vedas* he perceived the presence of people of 'Aryan race', a people who had 'invaded' India from central Asia. Although later he did point out that the term *Arya* simply meant 'refined' and did not mean race, the damage had been done. Till this day it has not been possible completely wipe out the concept of *Arya* as race is in the study of early Indian history. Though it has been agreed now that *Arya* should refer to a group of people speaking a particular language – the Vedic Sanskrit

(Indo-Aryan) – and has no connotation of race whatsoever, the debates on Aryan 'invasion', Aryan original home, etc have continued unabated.

The histories of India written during the 19th Century by the British dealt with the rise and fall of dynasties. These have been branded as 'administrators' histories'. Emphasis in these writings, like that of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, was on presenting Indian history as a succession of empires in which the kings occupied the centre place. Around them the narration of events revolved. The Indian ruler, save in exceptional cases like Ashoka and Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya, was presented as autocratic and oppressive with a total disregard to the welfare of his subjects. The British administration was projected as superior to the Indian and centralized bureaucracy as the most appropriate for India.

Indian historians writing in the late 19th Century followed this model of 'political and administrative history'. They focused on dynastic histories which highlighted the lives of the rulers. However, colonial explanations of Indian past were not accepted by them in their entirety. The seeds of Indian nationalism had been sown, and what followed in the early 20th Century demonstrates a different dimension of Indian historiography, called the 'Nationalist historiography'.

Early 20th Century saw the rise of national movement with great vigour in India. English educated Indian scholars, adept in Sanskrit language, were mostly influenced by the national movement. Their historical reconstructions reflected the nationalist sentiments. A host of scholars participated in reconstructions, R. Mitra, R.G.Bhandarakar, R.C.Dutt, A.S.Altekar, U.N.Ghoshal, K.P.Jaiswal, H.C.Raychaudhuri, R.K.Mookerjee, R.C.Majumdar, K.A.Nilakanta Sastri and H.C.Ojha being prominent among them.

The Nationalist historians often subscribed to favourable views on India's early past as put forth by the colonialists. But they were critical of unfavourable colonial views. The nationalist school projected Vedic culture as the foundation of Indian civilization; argued that institutions like democracy and constitutional monarchy were familiar in ancient India; depicted the opposition to Alexander's campaign culminating in the largest empire of ancient India viz., the Mauryan empire, as an instance of the great antiquity of Indian nationalism; objected to the theory of 'Oriental Despotism'; attributed indigenous origin to many past Indian achievements; and presented the Gupta period as the 'Golden Age' of ancient India. To them products in arts, literature and philosophy became a measure of cultural achievement of any period. Sanskrit sources

acquired prime importance. Nationalist scholars declined the tendency of tracing all great achievements of humans to Greek culture. According to some Greece's role was nil in any aspect of India's culture. According to others growth of greatness of Indian culture was a phenomenon parallel to that of Greece.

Emphasis on dynastic histories, which still dominates the normal writing on Indian history, was a legacy of 'administrators' histories'. Nationalist historians continued this legacy. Although other aspects of culture were studied with great vigour bringing out large amount of data, attempts to integrate them into patterns of change and evolution are hardly seen. It is only in the latter half of 20th Century that such efforts are visible.

From 1950s onwards there were efforts by Marxist interpreters to place Indian history in a different paradigm. Foremost among such interpreters was D.D.Kosambi [Kosambi 1956]. Interest now was social and economic history more than dynastic history. It was now clear that Karl Marx's theory of 'Asiatic Mode of Production' was not a valid explanation of ancient India. Kosambi's *Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (1956) was the most significant in that it emphasized on dynamics of economy and society in various phases of Indian history.

'Living prehistory' and 'cultural survivals' were regarded by him as important for objective reconstruction of archaeological and historical cultures. In his *Myth and Reality*, Kosambi developed his approaches further to explain the social basis of ideological concepts. He tried to identify stages through which Indian society has traversed and searched for reasons for the change. Though there is debate now about the stages suggested by Kosambi, that there existed a pattern of change does hold good.

Although the theory of 'Asiatic Mode of Production' lost ground, there was useful debate on possibility of 'Slave Mode of Production' or 'Feudal Mode of Production' as explanation of aspects of India's past. The latter in particular contributed largely to emergence of a number of new perspectives on the nature of state, changing economies in time and space and interrelations between religions and social groups. Kosambi, who in the functioning of societies of India discerned a kind of 'Feudal Mode of Production', suggested that it was 'feudalism from above and feudalism from below'. Feudalism from above was one in which the feudatories were subordinate to the king with no intervention from intermediaries. Feudalism from below consisted of a hierarchy of landowning intermediaries between the ruler and the peasant. This two-

phase explanation has not been accepted by scholars and debates are still going on about feudalism as a historical process. As discussions stand, the nature of feudalism in India cannot be viewed as static and its manifestations have been diverse in terms of time and space. The debate of course will go on.

While on the one hand interesting debates and discourses on political, social and economic aspects of Indian past and their intricacies and interrelations strongly are impressively progressing in the present scenario, traditional historical investigations inspired from nationalist understandings too have continued unabated. Another trend seen in the 20th Century is the concern for regional histories which has been and is being pursued with great vigour in various parts of India during the 20th Century and the present. However it will be noticed that the impact of Marxist investigations of India's past has not been sumptuous on reconstructions of regional histories. In fact at times caustic reactions were vocally expressed by certain 20th Century scholars on Marxist approaches. [Panchamukhi 1968] Reconstructions of dynastic political histories still dominate the scene and numerous works dealing with the histories of dynasties that reigned in Karnataka have been appearing. Cultural history and the integration of the political developments with

socio-economic and religious changes is far from being impressive, though certain outstanding works of impact dealing with cultural and economic aspects have appeared. [Chidanandamurti 1966; Hiremath 1986] A sub-region within a larger region, with distinct cultural identity like Tulunadu in Karnataka, also has drawn attention of scholars. Such works often tend to be documentations of great value with limited interpretations. [Gururaja Bhat 1975] Certainly there is dearth of newer methodologies. Any methodology adopted in a significant work like that of Chidanandamurti tends to become *Bhagavadgita* for later workers in the field. This situation continues to this day.

A recent work questions the very methodology employed in social science research in India. It argues that the colonial reconstructions of India were images created by Europeans in their attempt to understand India and her culture through their methodology. These images were European perceptions of India. Colonial methodology is being continued to be used in India. Hence our minds are also colonized. This is contributing to continuation of the legacy of European perceptions. The work argues that our minds need to be decolonized and we should develop our own methodology for not only understanding our culture but also for perceiving the European culture. [Balagangadhar 2012] In the context of

Karnataka, we will make a survey of the principal writings in Chapter 2 of this work.

Works on Historiography of Karnataka

Historiographical study on Karnataka has been a less navigated field. Only a few works focusing on the subject have appeared so far. The most important among them is a collection of papers presented to a seminar organized by the Mythic Society in 1984. It was more of Seminar on Historians of Karnataka than historiography. Later on these papers were edited and published by Suryanath Kamat [Kamat 1991]. Several scholars contributed papers on different aspects of historiography and historians. The scholars about whom enquiries were documented in this work are J.F.Fleet, B.L.Rice, R. Narasimhachar, S.Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, R. Shamasastry, K.B.Pathak, M.H.Krishna, K.A.Nilakantha Sastri, S.Srikantha Sastri, S.C.Nandimath, B.A Saletore, G.S.Halappa, M.V.Krishna Rao, K.N.V.Sastri, M.Shama Rao, Hullur Srinivasa Jois, M.S.Puttayya, M.Govinda Pai, R.S.Panchamukhi, and C.Hayavadana Rao. Apparently some of these scholars did not belong to the domain of early Karnataka history. In addition to this, there were useful surveys on the work done in the fields of Karnataka archaeology and art. A.M.Annigeri authored a book in Kannada entitled *Karnataka Itihasa Samsodhakaru*

(Researchers of History of Karnataka) in which he gave an account of 13 historians of Karnataka. [Annigeri 1985] He included biographical sketches and brief surveys of works of B.L.Rice, J.F.Fleet, K.B.Pathak, H.Krishna Sastri, R. Narasimhachar, M.H.Krishna, S.Srikantha Sastri, N.Lakshminarayan Rao, R.S.Panchamukhi, K.G.Kundanagar, P.B.Desai, B.A.Saletore and R.N.Gurav. The work contained a good account of historians and epigraphists who had made seminal contribution to the study of past of Karnataka. A more detailed treatment on life and contribution of as many as 61 scholars to various fields of Karnataka studies was published in 1998. This was a felicitation volume in Kannada presented to Professor M.M.Kalaburgi. [Kanavalli and Rajur 1998]. However all these works were somewhat inclined towards glorifying the concerned scholars than to have an objective assessment of their works. Nor do they provide newer orientations to the researchers in the field of early Karnataka history.

The purpose and scope of the work

The present work focuses on the historiography of the early phase of history of Karnataka. Though this phase would run from the prehistoric antiquity through to the end of the early Chalukya rule, the concern will be from the Maurya to the end of the Chalukya period. The pre-Maurya

period is not lit by literary evidence. Hence for all practical purposes pre-Maurya age in Karnataka history is prehistoric. The nature of prehistoric enquiries demands different type of methodological tools. It is a period about which we hardly have concrete literary tradition and the entire story has to be a construction based on artifacts and archaeological remains. From the first half of 19th Century, there were scholars interested in pre-historic artifacts and discoveries were made through that Century that brought to light sites we now describe as Early Palaeolithic, Middle Palaeolithic, Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Chaclolithic and Megalithic. Thanks to dedicated work of scholars like Robert Bruce Foote, Meadows Taylor, H.D.Sankalia, Subbarao, R.S.Pappu, Mishra, Seshadri, A. Sundara, K.Paddayya and several others, there has been considerable advancement in the field of prehistoric studies in Karnataka. The scholars whom we have considered here for examination were not from the field of prehistoric studies though they may have been acquainted with basics of that discipline. Hence in their writings [e.g. Desai 1970] one will notice that the prehistoric phase is given very little attention. For the early history of Karnataka, the sources from which the scholars could recruit data for examination and construction were basically epigraphic and marginally literary. The material brought out in

the field of art and architectural studies could be a significant source but the use of such material by historians of Karnataka is also marginal.

Against this backdrop an attempt is made in the present work to:

1. Consider the principal historians that represent different legs in historiography of Karnataka during 19th and 20th Centuries.

2. To consider the works of historians on early dynasties of Karnataka to the end of the time of the Chalukyas of Badami.

3. To identify reasons for the uneven development in the study of different aspects of Karnataka history.

4. To propose possibilities of new orientations in the study of early history of Karnataka.

Accordingly, four scholars and their work have been considered here: 1. R.G. Bhandarkar, 2. J. F. Fleet, 3. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, and 4. R. S. Panchamukhi. Particularly we will focus on J. F. Fleet and R. S. Panchamukhi.

The work is divided into chapters according to the scholars mentioned above chronologically. This being the first chapter has introduced the topic of research and its background. In the second chapter a survey of historiography of Karnataka has been made. The third chapter deals with R.G.Bhandarkar. In the fourth chapter J.F. Fleet and his work

have been dealt with at length. The fifth chapter provides an account of N. Lakshminarayan Rao and his works. In the sixth chapter is considered R.S.Panchamukhi and a critical account of his work. The last chapter 'Resume and Conclusions' provides an overview of the study in the form of observations.

CHAPTER - II

A SURVEY OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL WORK ON EARLY KARNATAKA

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Like any other part of India, Karnataka had been a land without historical narrative, particularly of the ancient past, in the 18th and early 19th Centuries. This situation stemmed from the absence of 'objective' historical works by the people of this part of the country. Hence the European officers found it necessary to look for sources that could be harnessed for reconstructing the past of this region. One had to begin from a scratch.

In Search of Epigraphic Sources

People have one or the other way of registering their history. In the case of Karnataka, as in the case of India, it was through inscriptions that people recorded history. For knowing the ancient past of Karnataka,

therefore inscriptions proved to be of immense value. The European officers recognized their value and initiated their collection and study.

The first name deserving mention in respect of exploring sources is that of Colin Mackenzie, an officer in the Survey of India. Beginning his career in India in 1783 he retired as Surveyor General of India in 1807. Along with his official commitments Mackenzie collected all that could be of historical value – manuscripts, local traditions, *sthalapuranas* (local mythological histories) and, more important of all, copper plate records and impressions of stone inscriptions. The collection goes by the name "Mackenzie Collection". This collection contained as many as 1700 inscriptions. The ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches, the mouthpiece of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, carried an article on this collection. "Mackenzie Collection" was unmatched mine for its time and later on it was exploited with advantage by several scholars working in the field of epigraphy in particular.

Comparable, though not on the scale of Mackenzie work, efforts were made in the Bombay State slightly later. M. Elphinston collected a number of inscriptions from that state in 1821 of which 14 were from the Kannada speaking area. Their summaries were published in 1831.

Walter Elliot was one of those officers involved in the revolt of Kittur. He had been imprisoned in 1824 by the army of Chennamma of Kittur. Though a British, his interest in promoting Kannada was unparalleled and he ventured to found a Kannada school in Dharwad in 1831. He was an educational officer in the Bombay State. But, for our purposes, it is noteworthy that during his stay in Bombay Karnatak, he collected as many as 1300 inscriptions form that area and from Hyderabad Karnatak area. Of these 595 were facsimile of stone inscriptions from the Kannada country. His collections included inscriptions also from the Telugu country inscribed in Telugu language. In addition, he attempted to cull historical information from the collections of Mackenzie and of his own. The result was embodied in the form of *Hindu Inscriptions* published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [Vol. IV (1836), p 1ff.] He examined in this article 595 inscriptions dating from the close of the 9th Century till 1234 AD. This was corrected, reedited and published again in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Volume VII, p 193 ff. [Fleet 1896: ii] This work contained the history of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, the Kalachuris, the Hoysalas and the Seunas (Yadavas). It was not doubt a pioneering work and not surprisingly Fleet had all appreciation for it: "No better method than Sir Walter Elliot's dealing

with the subject could be well devised." [Kamat 1991: 6] A Persian scholar, Elliot translated with Dowson many Persian accounts published in six volumes under the title *History of India as Told by Her own Historians*. Elliot was good at Numismatics and his *Coins of South India* (1886) is good evidence of his scholarship in that field.

The Mysore Government published in 1865 a photographic collection 150 inscriptions on stone-tablets and copper-plates found in Chitaldrug (Chitradurga), Balliamve, Harihar and other places in Mysore state. Similarly, in 1866, Sir Theodore Hope of Bombay Civil Service edited a set of 64 photographic copies of inscriptions in the Belgaum, Dharwad, Bijapur and North Kanara Districts of the Bombay Presidency and published them under the title *Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore.* These were from the negatives taken by Major Dixon. In another work entitled *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* Hope edited some more inscriptions from photographs taken by Dr. Pigou and Col. Briggs in the same year. [Fleet 1896: ii-iii] The photographic collections from Mysore region taken by Dixon helped B. L. Rice to writing his book *Mysore Inscriptions*, published in 1879.

Among the officers in Bombay Karnatak area, the outstanding one in respect of collection of inscriptions and their critical study was John Faithfull Fleet. He examined over 1000 inscriptions from the Bombay Karnatak region and subjected them to scientific study. He published a series of articles on several inscriptions with elaborate notes, transcriptions and translations in the volumes of *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Indian Antiquary* and *Epigraphia Indica*. Fleet re-arranged and reedited most of the inscriptions edited by Hope and had it published by India Office in 1878 under the title *Pali, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions, from the Bombay Presidency and parts of the Madras Presidency and Mysore*. Only nine copies of thie work were printed [Fleet 1896: iii] His *The Dynasties of Kanerese Districts* was the outcome of his organized effort to write the first connected and authentic history of Kannada speaking area, first published in 1882 as part of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, and later thoroughly revised and published again in 1896. This is a very significant work and we will have occasion to briefly review it in a chapter of this thesis. Fleet established a peculiar tradition of narrating history and its impact was long lasting. We will notice in the sequel its reflections in the writings of later epigraphist-

historians of Karnataka, like those of Lakshminarayan Rao and Panchamukhi.

In the Mysore State part of the Kannada speaking country, it was B. L. Rice who took the lead in epigraphic research. Beginning in 1886, he published a series of 12 volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, renowned even today for its novel system of editing and publishing epigraphs. They contained a total of 9000 inscriptions. The first two volumes respectively dealt with inscriptions of Coorg (modern Kodagu) and Shravanabelagola. Separate volumes were brought out for each district, sometimes, depending on the quantum of epigraphs, more than one. Each volume carried a scholarly introduction in which the material relating to history was discussed. We will draw attention to the work of B. L. Rice again owing to its extraordinary utility and impact.

Rice's work was continued with considerable vigour by his successor R. Narasimhachar. Many more inscriptions hither to unnoticed were brought to light by him through *Mysore Archaeological Reports*. He added some more inscriptions from Coorg and incorporated them in the revised the *Epigraphia Carnatica* volume pertaining to Coorg. M. H. Krishna continued this practice of publishing newly discovered

inscriptions in the *Annual Reports* of the Mysore Archaeological Department.

Another significant corner from where epigraphic discoveries were done on a considerable scale in respect of Karnataka was the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, first located in Madras and then shifted to Ooty, and later on shifted to Mysore. A galaxy of outstanding scholars employed here surveyed, deciphered, reported and edited the epigraphs related to Karnataka. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, K. V. Subramanya Iyer, T. T. Sharman, D. C. Sircar, G. S. Gai, K. V. Ramesh, etc. may be mentioned here. The work was carried on an annual basis and discoveries were incorporated in the annual report for the respective year. Notices of inscriptions were briefly published first in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, and later in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*. Significant inscriptions, whether copper plate charters or lithic records, were specially edited in the volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*. These inscriptions were then selected for publication normally region-wise in the volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions*. Some of these volumes were reserved for publication of inscriptions of the Bombay Karnatak region. Some of the Sanskrit scholars trained in Epigraphic nuances, disseminated to northern part of Karnataka and made signal contribution to publication

of epigraphs. Noteworthy among them are R. S. Panchamukhi, P. B. Desai and Shrinivas Ritti. Panchamukhi assumed charge as Director of the Kannada Research Institute established in Dharwad to encourage research on history, language and culture of the northern part of Karnataka. He trained scholars like N. S. Rajapurohit, Bengeri, Annigeri, Umarji etc in epigraphical studies.

Though the tribe of serious epigraphists of the kind witnessed earlier has dwindled, the epigraphic studies have continued to this day. Unlike in the old Mysore area, the Districts in North Karnataka did not have the fortune of having district-wise volumes of epigraphs, like *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The Kannada University at Hampi has issued a series of volumes of inscriptions district-wise, which contain an introduction, texts of inscriptions with a brief summary organized taluka-wise, and a few illustrations of facsimile of epigraphs. They do not contain Roman transcriptions or English translations. To that extent their utility for non-Kannada scholars is hampered. The Indian Council of Historical Research had initiated a scheme of publication of epigraphs dynasty-wise. Earlier G. S. Gai had brought out a volume of inscriptions of the Kadambas in this scheme. [Gai 1996] Similarly, K. V. Ramesh had brought out a volume of Western Ganga inscriptions. [Ramesh 1984]

Recently, under the same scheme, a volume of inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Badami edited by S. V. Padigar has been published by Southern Regional Office of the ICHR, Bangalore. [Padigar 2010] Under the Classical Language Scheme, the University of Mysore has launched a series of dynasty-wise volumes of inscriptions. The volumes pertaining to the Rashtrakuta and Kalyana Chalukya dynasties have already appeared and those pertaining to the Kadambas and Chalukyas of Badami are in the offing.

Histories of Early Karnataka

Truly historical narratives of Karnataka appeared in the last quarter of 19th Century. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* and Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* stand out distinctly as pioneering works in this respect. EHD was restricted to the history of the Maharashtra region of the Deccan. But Fleet's work DKD focused on the political history up to 1318 AD in what is Karnataka today. These works, particularly the latter, are full of discussions on issues of chronology and succession and record the achievements of rulers. Cultural history, though superficially dealt with in Bhandarkar's work, does not find room in Fleet's work. Fleet's energies were exhausted in transliterating, studying,

translating the epigraphs and in finding suitable solutions to the ambiguous issues. His work is class example of 'epigraphist's history'. He started a movement, as it were, of writing a history based on a study of epigraphs. It is called here a 'movement' because DKD became a model to emulate for later writers like R. S. Panchamukhi [Panchamukhi 1968] and R. H. Deshpande [Deshpande 1926].

In the second decade of the 20th Century appeared an interesting work of historical nature. Authored by Alur Venkatrao, a nationalist leader from north Karnataka, Dharwad to be more precise, this book was entitled *Karnataka Gatavaibhava* [Alur 1917]. It contained an outline of the history of Karnataka up to the Vijayanagara period. The book had a specific goal, the goal being to instill in the people of Karnataka a sense of pride as a linguistic-cultural entity and to get united under one banner. The book embraces a highly emotional language for this purpose. This may be regarded as the first ever work in Kannada on Karnataka's history with an open intention of glorification of Karnataka's past for the goal of unifying Kannadigas.

The man who founded the 'Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha' in Dharwad in 1890, R. H. Deshpande was also 'inspired' to write a history

of Karnataka in Kannada. He wrote two volumes of *Karnataka Samrajya*, which were published in 1926. [Deshpande 1926] The Third was also completed, but could not be published. The first volume covered the dynasties of Karnataka particularly the Alupas, Kadambas, Gangas and the Chalukyas of Badami. And the second volume covered from the Rashtrakutas to the foundation of Vijanagara. He was the Vice Principal of the Teachers' Training College and had written some other books on history, like Mughal history, Shivaji, Nurjahan, Tipu Sultan etc. Some scholars have blamed *Karnataka Samrajya* volumes to be text-bookish [Kamat 1991: 14]. Some others have patted Deshpande as the first true *Kannada historian* of Karnataka. [Ritti 2010 (a): 9] A peep through the introduction to the work shows that Deshpande was not a historian, but he was interested in writing history. However in his work he put in considerable efforts to make it objective. Unfortunately, the account of Puranas is treated by him as acceptable history, though he admits that this is so owing to want of information before the advent of the Buddha.

Mysore Gazetteer Volume II, edited by C. Hayavadana Rao (1930), deals at length with the history of Karnataka. It comprises of four parts, running to 3000+ pages. In the first part the sources of history are considered in detail. Epigraphic, numismatic, art and architectural, sources

and Sanskrit, Prakrit, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil literary sources are critically examined in great detail with respect to their utility in this part. The second part discusses the ancient period from the Nandas through to Chalukyas of Kalyana, Kalachuris and Cholas. The dynasties of Karnataka covered here include Nandas, Mauryas, Satavahanas, Kadambas of Banavasi, Banas, Vaidumbas, Pallavas, Nolambas, Gangas, Eastern Gangas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas of Kalyana, the Hoysalas and Kalachuris. The remaining parts of this work dealt with Vijayanagar Period (Part III) and post-Vijayanagara Mysore (Part IV). Since the treatment is based on all types of sources the work is of great use for any serious student of history.

The next important work deserving mention here is *Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu* authored jointly by N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi. [Lakshminarayan Rao and Panchamukhi 1946] This work concerns itself only to the ancient period of Karnataka's history. It contains valuable discussions on the Kadambas, the Chalukyas of Badami, the Gangas of Talakadu, the Nolambas and Banas tapping particularly the epigraphic records available till the time of its publication. However the Rashtrakutas are not dealt with in this work. Perhaps the most significant work in Kannada on Karnataka history was by Panchamukhi entitled

Karnatakada Itihasa Vol I. It considered the history of Karnataka from its various political and cultural dimensions right from prehistoric times to the end of the Rashtrakutas, excluding the Gangas. [Panchamukhi 1968] **The merits of this work are dealt with separately in the Chapter concerned with R.S.Panchamukhi.**

Among the works that gave considerable space to dealing with Karnataka history in the context of South Indian History, two deserve to be mentioned particularly. The first is K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's History of South India. [Sastri 1955] Sastri tried to integrate the dynastic histories to avoid repetitions. Thus he deals with the history of the Pallavas and Chalukyas of Badami simultaneously, as politically related to each other. [Sastri 1955] He also gave attention to cultural developments – in the field of religion, literature, art etc – in an integrated manner. Thus Sastri's work stands out distinctly in South Indian historiography. Later when Yazdani edited the *Early History of the Deccan*, Sastri made major scholarly contribution in it about the Chalukyas of Badami. [Yazdani 1960: 201-246]

The saga of writing Voluminous histories of Karnataka was inaugurated by *Karnataka through the Ages.* It was edited by R. R.

Diwakar and his associate K. Sampadgiri Rao, and published in 1968. It consisted of papers by various noted scholars. The subject matter covered, apart from the history of major dynasties, the history of feudatory dynasties of particular periods. Aspects of administration, society and culture on every imperial dynasty's period are also dealt with in separate articles. This was soon followed by a Kannada version of the book entitled Karnataka Parampare in two parts. Another large work on Karnataka history that followed soon after the above was *Karnataka Itihasa Darsana* edited by M.V.Krishna Rao and M. Kesava Bhatta. [1970] It can be considered as the first large book to appear on Karnataka history, but its approach is not always scientific. [Kamat 1991: 17]

In the same year (1970) appeared another scholarly work in English. This was *A History of Karnataka* jointly authored by P.B.Desai, S.H.Ritti and B.R.Gopal. [Desai et al 1970] The work considered the whole range of Karnataka history from the earliest times to unification of Karnataka, though it dealt with the period up to the end of Vijayanagara extensively. The remaining period is covered very briefly. It was written as a precursor to a twelve-volume comprehensive history of Karnataka, of which only two volumes saw the light of the day, one dealing with the Chalukyas of Kalyana [Gopal 1981] and the other with the Seunas

(Yadavas of Devagiri). [Ritti: 1973] *A History of Karnataka* shows the mastery of its authors in utilizing the epigraphic material of which they had first-hand knowledge. Yet on going through this work one feels that the cultural aspects are treated thinly with a touch of glorification. However, as S. U. Kamat writes, "it was the first carefully written account of ancient and medieval Karnataka making the latest available epigraphical material, though only political history dominates the narrative" [Kamat 1991: 17]

S. U. Kamat wrote a book titled *Karnatakada Sankshipta Itihasa* (*A short History of Karnataka*) in Kannada in 1973. Its English version, *A concise History of Kanataka* was also published in 1980. This work has undergone several prints in revised editions and now serves as a use handbook on the history of Karnataka covering all aspects, history, political, social, economic, religious, art and architectural etc period-wise.

Apart from this genuine works on history proper, sections dealing with Karnataka history and its cultural aspects are also found in the Gazetteers. *Karnataka Gazetteer* published in two parts (1982-83) comprises of sections on sources authored by S.H. Ritti, Prehistory authored by A. Sundara, history of the ancient period by A.V. Narasimha

Murthy, history of medieval period by B.R. Gopal and history of Modern period by S. U. Kamat. Notes on historical developments in agriculture, irrigation, horticulture, industry, trade, transport, administration, education, literature etc are incorporated while dealing with respective topics. To this may be added the district-wise Gazetteer volumes that have appeared for almost all the districts of Karnataka.

In 1997, the Kannada University at Hampi published a seven volume series of Karnataka history in Kannada entitled *Karnataka Charitre*. The first volume in this series was edited by Sundara. Several expert scholars contributed their articles on various aspects of history. This 560 page work attempted to signify the nature of developments in Karnataka history through ten chapters and contains very useful information on background on environment, people and culture. The emphasis is on prehistoric cultures, only four chapters dealing with historical period from the Satavahanas to the Chalukyas of Badami. [Sheik Ali and Sundara 1997]

It is worthy of note also that in the *Vishaya Visvakosa – Karnataka*, brought out by the University of Mysore in 1977 the various afore-mentioned topics have been discussed in considerable detail along with

relevant illustrations. The University of Mysore, under the editorship of A. Sundara has recently brought out volume *Itihasa mattu Puratatva Encyclopaedia* and this has extensive information on the latest material on various aspects of archaeology and history of Karnataka, written by experts in the respective field. [Sundara 2009] Yet the fact that the political, social, economic, religious and other aspects as historically integral developments does not seem to have been recognized by many at present. One somewhat exceptional approach, though in outline only, has been recently put forth by a younger scholar M.V.Devadevan in a Kannada work authored by him. [Devadevan 2009] However an in-depth command over a wide variety of historical and literary data is a desideratum for such an approach to become valid.

Dynasty-wise works on History Early Dynasties

Study of individual dynasties could give scope for dealing with a limited period on an intensive scale. Quite early this advantage was realized by certain scholars and they took up the study of individual dynasties seriously. The Mauryas had their home region in Magadha (Bihar) and hence their age in the context of Karnataka has not been exhaustively treated by scholars in the field, though there is good scope

for examining this aspect. However, it is the Satavahanas who acquired importance in enquiries. The Satavahanas were considered to be centred in upper Deccan and Central India and hence their connection with Karnataka was also deemed marginal. Long chapters or articles have been contributed by scholars like Bakhje V.S. [1928: Satavahanas and the Contemporary Kshatrapas, *JBBRAS.*, N.S., III, pp 44-100; IV, 39-80], Bhandarkar D.R. [1918-20: Deccan of the Satavahana Period, *IA*, XLVII, 1918, pp 69-78, 149-156; XLVIII, 1919, pp 77-83; XLIX, 1920, pp 30-34] Altekar [1967: *Maharashtra State Gazetteer, History: Part I – Ancient Period*, Govt of Maharashtra, Bombay, pp 57-100], Debreuil [1920], Gopalachari [1941: *Early History of the Andhra Country: The Satavahana Empire*, Madras University; 1987: The Satavahana Empire, *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, Chapter X, ed. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi], Jayaswal [1933: *History of India: 150 to 350 A.D.*, Motilal Banaasidass, Lahore], Ramachandraiah [1978: Satavahanas and their succesors, *Journal of the University of Madras*, L, Part II, pp 1ff], Sastri K.A.N. [1926: *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, 2nd edn., Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987], Ajaya Mitra Shastri [1998: *The Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Dattsons, Nagpur], Sircar [1953: The Satavahanas and the Chedis, *A History and*

Culture of the Indian People, II: The Age of Imperial Unity, eds. R.C.Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 2nd edn., pp 178-216], and Sukthankar in books or journals on problems connected with the Satavahana rulers, their coins, etc. One of the recent works with a great amount of discussion is by Ajaya Mitra Shastri and it reconsiders the chronology, genealogy and other aspects of the Satavahana history. However cultural aspects such as art, economy and religion do not figure in this work. History of the Satavahanas in relation to Karnataka is one of the areas deserving special attention of the scholars.

Kadambas

One of the early dynasties to attract attention of scholars for detailed enquiry was that of the Kadambas. Reverend Henry Heras who did commendable work in the field of Karnataka history, particularly in respect of Vijayanaga, encouraged scholars to take up individual dynasties for in depth study. Many research dissertations were produced on aspects of Karntaka history. One of these was the M.A. dissertation by George Moraes entitled *Kadambakula* published in 1931. [Mores 1931] This was produced under the guidance of Rev. Heras. This work included discussions on early Kadambas as well as later Kadamba families, such as

those of Hanagal and Goa. However, there were errors and omissions in this work which have been attempted to be set right by later scholars like N. L. Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi [Rao N.L. and R. S. Panchamukhi 1946: Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu, Kannada ResearcInstitute, Dharwad] and B. R. Gopal [1984: *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Kadamba Institute of Cultural Studies, Sirsi]. Since Gopal's publication, good number of new early Kadamba epigraphs have been discovered, some of them revealing the names of hitherto unknown rulers like Priyavratavarma and Pulindavarma. [Jagadish and Samag 2007-08: *Kadambara Aratalegaddeya Apurva Tamrashasana Bhandara*, Karnataka Itihasa Samshodhana Mandala, dharwad]. Hence there is scope for reviewing the present knowledge of early Kadamba history as well as to reconstruct the cultural dimensions of the period. But surprisingly no single significant work dealing entirely dedicated to Early Kadamba period has so far been published.

Western Gangas

The Gangas of Talakadu, better known as the Western Gangas, were among the important dynasties that had the longest rule and ruled over parts of Karnataka. They issued a large number of inscriptions and it

is truism that perhaps the largest number of spurious copper plate records is attributed to them. On account of this Fleet was not ready to accept Gangas as a genuine dynasty. However, Rice proved convincingly that this dynasty did rule and not all their records are spurious. After Rice's reconstruction of Ganga history a small monograph appeared on this dynasty's history authored by M.V.Krishna Rao [Krishna Rao 1936: *The Gangas of Talakad*, Madras]. Although the family was treated in the works of N.L.Rao and Panchamukhi [Rao and Panchamukhi 1946: 105-92] and Desai [Desai et al 1970] and others, a single volume dealing with Ganga history was not published until when Sheik Ali brought out his work *History of the Western Gangas* in 1976. [Sheik Ali 1976: *History of the Western Gangas*, University of Mysore, Mysore] This 416 page work is commendable in the sense that the author attempted in fourteen chapters the various aspects of Ganga history, the first eight dealing with political history and the remaining six chapters respectively with administration, economic conditions, social conditions, education and literature, religion and art and architecture. Ramesh has brought out a volume of inscriptions of the Western Gangas, [Ramesh 1984 Inscriptions of the Western Gangas, ICHR and Agam, New Delhi] in the introduction to which he has focused on certain issues relating to the genealogy, chronology and

usefulness of spurious records. But this work cannot be considered a monograph on Ganga history. As such, the problem of understanding a period of history in relation to land, people and culture in integrated manner still persists in the case of the history of Gangas.

Chalukyas of Badami

The last dynasty which falls within the scope of the present work is that of the Chalukyas of Badami. Fleet spared considerable energy in reconstructing the history of this dynasty by critically examining the numerous Sanskrit and Kannada inscriptions known till his time. [Fleet 1896]. The subject was treated also by R.S.Deshpande at length wherein he examined to the extent of his abilities issues on Chalukya origin, their rise, temporary eclipse, and recovery, and the conditions during their period. He dedicated as many as four chapters to these aspects. [Deshpande 1926: 259-340] Similarly, N.L.Rao and Panchamukhi also dealt with the political history of this dynasty. [Rao and Panchamukhi 1946; 45-104] Chalukya period was one of the most wonderful periods of Karnataka history in terms of availability of sources, political achievements, cultural transitions, artistic heights and so on. But it is surprising that monographs were not attempted on this dynasty in significant numbers. Two note worthy publications on this dynasty are by

D.P. Dikshit [Dikshit 1980] and K.V.Ramesh [Ramesh 1984]. Dikshit's work was an extensive review of review of the sources for reconsidering the various political and administrative aspects. Of the ten chapters in this work, seven deal with the political aspects and the remaining three respectively with general administration, fiscal administration and army organization. There is an exhaustive list of epigraphs with summaries. The attribution of certain epigraphs to rulers and re-fixing the chronology of certain Chalukyas rulers like Mangalesha are noteworthy in this work. However the religious, cultural and art aspects for which great amount of material is available has not been attended to in this work. Ramesh's work focuses on ruler-wise political developments, providing reinterpretations of many Chalukya inscriptions and using them, but from the point of view of development of religion, culture and art this works has little to offer. In the introduction to recent volume of Inscriptions of the Calukyas of Badami, Padigar has attempted to review the status of knowledge of the Chalukya period on epigraphic grounds. [Padigar 2010] Hampa Nagarajaiah's work looks at the Chalukyas in the framework of Jainism. [Nagarajaiah 2005]

Apart from the aforesaid works, different aspects of culture have been treated separately by different scholars adept in their fields. For

instance, history of Vaishnavism in Karnataka has been examined on epigraphic and archaeological evidence by S.V. Padigar. [Padigar 1997] A study of early Saivism in Karnataka has been attempted by M.N.Kadapatti. [Kadapatti 2007-08] A comprehensive analytical study of coins and currency system of Karnataka has been made by A.V.Narasimha Murthy. [Narasimha Murthy 1997] Aspects of trade and commerce as gleaned from epigraphs have been treated by B.R.Hiremath. [Hiremath 1986] The most extensive work has been in the field of study of art and architecture of Karnataka, particularly of period of the Chalukyas of Badami. After James Burgess' reports [Burgess 1874], detailed drawings and brief studies had been made of the Chalukya monuments by Henry Cousens [Cousens 1926]. Percy Brown's Indian Architecture contained a critique of Chalukya monuments and proposed a classification and evolution of the temples. [Brown 1940s] The accepted chronology of the Badami Chalukya monuments was questioned by different scholars and more objective and rational approach was provided during the latter part of 20th Century. [Michell 1975; Rajasekhara 1985]. Moreover, several studies of Chalukya monuments and sculpture have opened up possibilities of new vistas in understanding monuments and culture of the Chalukya period.

CHAPTER - III

R. G. BHANDARKAR AND HIS WORK

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SIR RAMAKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDAKAR (henceforth Bhandarkar) is a great name in Deccan Historiography. He was born in 1837 at Malwan in the Ratnagiri District of the then Bombay Presidency (now Sindhudurg District of Maharashtra) in a middle class family. After schooling in Malwan and Ratnagiri, he completed his "Current Curriculum" in 1858 from the Elphinstone Institute of Mumbai. For four years he served as Dakshnina-Fellow from 1859. In 1862 he graduated from the newly established University of Bombay completed his post-graduation in 1863. He was appointed as a school headmaster at Ratnagiri (1865-67). He was Acting Professor of Sanskrit at the Elphinstone College (1867 to 1872) and Assistant Professor at the same college (1872-79). Thereafter he was transferred to the Deccan College at Pune, where he served first as Acting Professor (1879-1881) and later as Professor (1881-1893). After his

retirement he had the distinction of serving as the second Indian Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay from 1893 to 1895. Further he worked on the Viceroy's Legislative Council and the Provincial Legislative Council. He was knighted in 1911.

Bhandarkar seems to have entered the field of writing history in 1871 when he published a copper plate grant of Gurjara king Dadda. [CW 3: 246-256] His initial work was concerned with editing of inscriptions. But by 1878 his attention turned to the history of the Deccan when he published a revised transcript of the Chalukya copper plate record [CW 3: 261-274]. Soon in 1883 he provided new interpretations of the Nasik inscriptions and the inscription of Rashtrakuta Krishnaraja.

Early History of the Dekkan down to the Mahomedan Conquest was a major contribution of Bhandarkar to the history of the Deccan. It was published in 1884 as part of the Bombay Gazetteer. Its second edition was published in 1895, revised in the light of the fresh discoveries within a decade of the first edition. A third edition with added notes from new research was published in 1928 D. R. Bhandarkar.

Bhandarkar called his *Early History of the Dekkan* "merely a congeries of facts". But the fact remains that this was the first continuous historical account of the Deccan from the early historic period to the

beginning of the medieval period. It was based on a critical analysis of various sources accessible at that time. An advantage of the work was that it dealt with not only political history, genealogy and chronology of various dynasties but with social, economic and religious, literary and art aspects of the period, though very briefly.

Early History of the Dekkan begins with an introduction which sums up the situation when it was written. "India has no written history. Nothing was known till within recent times of the political condition of the country, the dynasties that ruled over the different provinces which composed it, and the great religious and social revolutions that it went through. The historical curiosity of the people was satisfied by legends. What we find of a historical nature in the literature of the country before the arrival of Mahomedans comes to very little." [EH 1928 p. xi] The author goes on to give an account of the variety and nature of sources that contain bits of historical information and that have to be made use of for reconstructing history. After going through the work, one gets convinced that the scholar has consulted all types of sources – Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali literature, foreign accounts, epigraphs, coins and archaeological remains.

EH has sixteen sections and three appendices. The main sections cover Etymology of the word Dekkan, Settlements of the Aryas, Date of Aryan Settlement in the Dekkan, Political history of the Dekkan or Maharashtra, Native and Foreign princes mentioned in inscriptions, Chronology of Andhrabhrityas or Satavahanas, Political and literary traditions about the Andhrabhrityas, Religious, Social and economic condition of Maharashtra under the Andhrabhrityas, Probably history of the period between the extinction of the Andhrabhrityas and the rise of the Chalukyas, the early Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the later Chalukyas, the Kalchuris, the Yadavas of Devagiri (early and later history) and the Silaharas of Kolhapur. In terms of coverage, we may note that the first eight sections dealing with the history up to the Andhrabhrityas or Satavahanas are covered in 76 pages, the post Satavahana and the early Chalukya period are covered in 30 pages and the post early Chalukya period in 112 pages. This shows that the early history, particularly concerned with Satavahanas, has consumed space, firstly on account of the numerous cave epigraphs of Maharashtra and secondly on account of the confusing picture of genealogy and chronology of the Satavahanas and their contemporaries.

Bhandarkar takes the term Deccan in the sense of the whole peninsula south of Narmada river [CW 3: 5], but does not fail to mention the area in terms of narrower definitions as falling between the Tapi and the Krishna rivers, the valleys of Godavari and Krishna rivers, excluding the Konkan. Befitting the prevailing trend of his time, he dwells on the question of 'Aryan settlements' in the Deccan. [CW 3: 7-20] From the titles of certain sections in the EH, it is apparent that he was inclined to deal with the history of the territory that lay in what is Maharashtra today.

In *EH*, Bhandarkar deals with the question of *Rashtrikas* and *Paithanikas* mentioned in Ashokan inscriptions. He identified *Rasthrikas* as the ancestors of Rashtrakuta families. Similarly, Paithanikas are identified with the rulers wielding power with Paithana as headquarters. But Bhandarkar was little concerned with Mauryan activities in the peninsula obviously because the epigraphs found in Karnataka and Andhra had not been made known at that time.

As pointed out above Bhandarkar deals at length with the problems connected with the Andhrabhritya or Satavahana history. On the basis of Puranic evidence he placed Simuka at 73 BC. The discrepancy in the genealogical successions (30 rulers as against the 17) and chronology (456 years as against 280) of Andhra kings noticed in the *Matsya* and *Vayu*

Purana accounts is explained by him as owing to the fact that the *Matsya Purana* takes into account the members of the collateral branches while the *Vayu Purana* takes into account only the members of the main branch. He postulated that Gautamiputra Satakarni and Vasishthiputra Satakarni had conjoint rule. This view has not been accepted by other scholars, and they regard that the latter succeeded the former. Yajnasri, Chatushparna and Madhariputra Sakasena are included as successors of Gautamiputra. He identified Vasishthiputra Sri Satakarni with Vasishthiputra Sivasri Satakarni and this has also not received acceptance by scholars. [Pusalkar: 31] He rightly inferred from evidence that the Sakas ruled the Deccan only for a generation between Gautamiputra and Vasishthiputra and this view is still accepted by scholars.

In a separate section, Bhandarkar considers the religious, social and economic condition of Maharashtra under the Andhrabhrityas or Satavahanas. [EH 1928: 70-76] He points out, basically on the evidence of Cave inscriptions that both Buddhism and Brahmanism were equally flourishing under the Satavahanas. Trade and commerce are considered by him and apart from emphasizing on how flourishing these were at the time, he attempts to identify several places of the Deccan mentioned in works of ancient Greek geographers. [1928: 71-74] It is interesting to note

that he identified Buzantion of Greek writers with Vaijayanti though he expresses uncertainty over its equation with a modern place in the Deccan. [1928: 73] He states that since Vaijayanti was mentioned in Kadamba inscription, it was some modern place in North Kanara. He was also aware that Jayantipura occurring in Vijayanagara inscription had been identified with Banavasi. [1928: 73] However, he concludes that perhaps Vaijayanti may be identified with Vijayadurga though admitting that his arguments in favour of this identification "are not of very great weight." [1928: 74]. Now we know well that Vijayanti can be no other place than Banavasi in Uttara Kannada District of Karnataka.

In the post-Satavahana scenario, up to the time when the Chalukyas of Badami appeared on the scene, Bhandarkar's materials were of no certain nature. Hence he captioned the chapter as "Probable History of the period between the extinction of the Andhrabhrityas and the Rise of the Chalukyas" [1928: 77] It is not surprising that he deals with the Abhiras, especially focusing on Sivadatta and his son Virasena (i.e., Isvarasena). [CW 1: 269; CW 3: 63] It is interesting to note that Vakatakas, whose inscriptions were already known to scholars by this time, do not figure in the EH. This was probably due to the fact that the Vakatakas at that time were considered to be Greeks or Indo-Greeks of northwest India having

little to with the Deccan. [Pusalkar: 35] He makes a conjecture that the Maharathis should be considered as members of Rattha tribes who later on "formed themselves into a family or group (kuta) and called themselves Rashtrakuda, and later on Rathoda, the Sanskrit original of which is Rashtrakuta." [1928: 79] He extends his argument to postulate that the early Chalukyas, founded at the beginning of the sixth century, came into existence after defeating the Rashtrakutas. [Ibid.] Thus according to him "From about the end of the third to the beginning of the sixth century, therefore, the Dekkan was ruled over by the princes of the Rashtrakuta family." [1928: 79-80] Lastly he also considers Traikutakas and Haihayas or Kalachuris as having ruled over parts of the Deccan in this period. [1928: 80-81]

Bhandarkar deals at length with the political history of early Chalukyas. He meticulously uses all the inscriptions then available to him. He also makes use of the account of Hieun Tsang. We can say that, his account of the Chalukyas runs almost in conformity with what Fleet wrote about the same time. DKD was not yet accessible to him but he profusely made use of Fleet's papers in the volumes of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and *Indian Antiquary* which he cites meticulously. He does not refer to the defeat of Pulakesi II at the hands of

the Pallava king of Kanchi and after presenting an estimate of Pulakeshi II he goes over directly to the reign of Vikramaditya I. He ends the reign of the Chalukyas in 753 AD. In his account he did not fail to consider the subordinate families such as the Sendrakas. Further he also considers the establishment of Chalukya houses of Vengi and Lata.

In respect of the Chalukyas of Badami, an interesting assertion of Bhandarkar was that Mangalesa came to the throne in 591 AD. He based his argument on the Copper plate grant of his governor of Revati dated Saka 532 as the 20th regnal year, apparently of Mangalesa. If Saka 532 was equivalent to 20th year of Mangalesha then he must have come to the throne in 591 AD. [1928: 86-87] On the contrary Fleet, on the basis of Mahakuta Pillar Inscription, had fixed the commencement of Mangalesa's reign in 597-98 AD. [Fleet 1896: 346] For quite some time, the later scholars have been inclined to believe that Mangalesha succeeded to the throne around 596 AD. [Desai 1970: 94] This latter belief has been recently questioned by Dikshit [1980: 47-55] and he upholds the view of Bhandarkar in this respect [Dikshit 1980: 54]. K.V. Ramesh has concurred with this view and come to the conclusion that Mangalesha must have come to the throne in 591-92 AD. [Ramesh 1984:]

Bhandarkar, after his survey of Political history, turns attention to other aspects of culture such as religions briefly. [EHD 1928:102-104] Jainism held a respectable place [1928: 102] while Buddhism was on the decline. [1928: 103] There was revival of Brahmanism and especially the sacrificial religion. [Ibid.] An interesting observation made by him is that during the Chalukya period the title of *svamin* was not used indiscriminately but was attached to the names of only those who were conversant with the sacrificial lore. [Ibid.] So far as the Puranic Brahmanism is considered, he observes that it received great development and that the temples in honour of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara were constructed in many places. The terrific form of Siva also seems to have prevailed as evidenced in a gift of village to god Kapalikesvara. [1928: 104] At the end of the survey he mentions that "Cave architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Puranic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave temple at Badami dedicated to the worship of Vishnu by Mangalesa." [Ibid.] of lines he states that Puranic cave temples at Badami.

So far as the Early History of the Dekkan was considered 'Deccan' to Bhandarkar was Maharashtra. The part of Karnataka then under Bombay province is addressed by him as 'Southern Maraththa Country'

and never as Karnataka. Thus, though he was aware of the Kadambas of Banavasi, he did not consider them in his account of dynasties of the Deccan. Similarly, he does not speak about the Gangas of Talakadu, who ruled contemporaneously first with the Kadambas of Banavasi and later with the Chalukyas of Badami and the Rashtrakutas.

About the time when Bhandarkar wrote his work, apart from others, Taylor and Fergusson [Taylor and Fergusson 1866; also Fergusson 1910] and Burgess [Burgess 1874] had brought out works/reports on architecture of India, including the Buddhist and Brahmanical Caves of Western India and the famous sites of Badami, Aihole and Pattadakal. But the art and architectural achievements of the period from the Satavahanas to the Chalukyas of Badami was outside the scope of Bhandarkar's work. Perhaps he thought that the study of architecture and art was a separate domain and belonged to the realm of field archaeology. A self-trained epigraphist with mastery over Sanskrit, it is not surprising that Bhandarkar was comfortable in exploiting epigraphic material for telling the history of the Deccan.

CHAPTER - IV

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET AND HIS WORK

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JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET is the most memorable name in Karnataka Epigraphy and Historiography. Fleet was the first to give a connected account of political history ancient Karnataka, which still remains largely unchallenged in so far as its contents are considered. He was born in 1847 to George Fleet and Ester Faithfull at Chiswick in England. His early education was in the famous Merchant Taylor's School. His had his higher education in University of London and passed Indian Civil Service examination in 1865. He studied Sanskrit under Professor Goldstucker of the University College, London. He eventually mastered that language.

In 1867 he was posted in the Bombay Presidency. He was Assistant Collector for some time and mostly served in the Kannada speaking area of the Presidency. This helped him to learn Kannada which he could

speak and write proficiently as seen from the letters which he wrote to his friends in Karnataka. He was Educational Inspector in the Southern Division in 1872, Assistant Political Agent at Kolhapur in 1875, Collector and Magistrate of Sholapur in 1886 and Senior Collector in 1889. He served as Commissioner of the Southern Division in 1891. Next year he became the Commissioner of Central Division (1892). Finally he became the Commissioner of Customs in 1893. He retired from service in 1897, returned to England and settled in Ealing. He died in 1917. [Ritti 1976]

In January 1883, through the influence of Alexander Cunningham and Gibbs, Fleet was appointed to the specially created post of Epigraphist to the Government of India. He held that post till June 1886, when the post was abolished. The purpose of his appointment was to prepare a volume of inscriptions of the early Gupta kings. It was completed in 1888 and came out as Volume III of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. From around 1882 and during his tenure as Epigraphist to the Government of India, Fleet had from the Bombay Government an annual grant for the collection of impressions of inscriptions in the Bombay Presidency. He employed men to copy the inscriptions in the Belgaum and Dharwar Districts and in the Native States of the Southern Maratha Country. These men visited 225 villages in the aforesaid region and made impressions of

nearly a thousand inscriptions. Studying and editing these inscriptions was an additional duty he was voluntarily carrying on. He laments in the introduction to the *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, "The constant pressure of official duties has prevented my including all the details that could be supplied from the unpublished materials now on hand. As far as is practicable, however, I have worked them in." [Fleet 1986: v] He, however, further adds "I am able to put forth this second version, of a work which was first issued thirteen years ago under much less favourable conditions and has now been rewritten practically throughout, with the satisfactory knowledge that it contains many substantial improvements, and will add very largely to our knowledge of the ancient history of that part of the country with which it deals." [Fleet 1896: v]

Before Fleet wrote his *Dynasties*, he had already begun editing inscriptions. In 1878 he had organized and compiled a volume of about 250 inscriptions named *Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions* prepared on the basis of photographs of inscriptions taken by photographs like Dixon and Brigs for the Mysore Government. In view of the cost involved in its publication only 9 copies of this work were issued. [Fleet 1896: iii] This work is not accessible now. He had also published a number of inscriptions in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal*

Asiatic Society, in the volumes of ***Indian Antiquary*** (started in 1872) and in the early volumes of ***Epigraphia Indica*** (started in 1888). His scholarship and contributions were well recognized during his life time; he had been assigned the editorship of *Indian Antiquary* jointly with Sir Richard Temple from 1884 to 1892. In 1912 he was appointed the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. This honour he retained till the end of his life. In recognition of his services the Society honoured awarded him its Gold Medal.

The two works of Fleet, namely the Volume of *Gupta Inscriptions* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III) and *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency from the Earliest Historical Times to the Musalman Conquest of A.D. 1318* (hereafter *DKI*) stand out distinctly. But for the study here the revised version of the *DKI* (1896) issued as part of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* is important and relevant.

The *DKI* has eight chapters which are respectively dedicated to The Early Dynasties (pp 277-334), The Western Chalukyas of Badami (pp 335-381), The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed (pp 382-425), The Western Chalukyas of Kalyani (pp 426-467), The Kalchuryas of Kalyani (pp 468-489), The Hosyalas of Dorasamudra (pp 490-510), Yadavas of Devagiri

(pp 511-534) and the Great Feudatory Families (pp 535-584). The fact that this scheme of sequence of major dynasties is even today followed by modern writers of ancient Karnataka demonstrates the thoroughness with which Fleet had organized his material relating to political history.

On Mauryas and Satavahanas

By the time the revised DKI was published, B.L.Rice had already discovered (1892) inscriptions of Ashoka in Chitradurga District of Mysore state. But in surveying the early dynasties of pre-Kadamba times Fleet makes no reference to them. On the other hand, he makes use of Ashokan epigraphs found elsewhere for ascertaining and locating certain peoples of the Deccan, such as the Petenikas and Bhojas, and of the South, such as the Cholas, Pandyas, Satiyaputas and Keralaputas. He makes an interesting statement with respect to Ashokan dominions: "Ashoka's dominions proper seem *not* to have extended south of the Narmada (*vulgo* Nerbudda)". [Italics (*not*) added. Fleet 1896: 277] Unlike Bhandarkar, Fleet just makes passing reference to the Andhrabhrityas or Satavahanas in connection with the discussion on 'Satakarni' figuring in the Banavasi and Malavalli stone inscriptions. He advises the readers to refer to R.G.Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* (1884) "for an account of the Andhrabhritya, Satavahana or Salivahana kings". He had the humility

to accept that "Some detailed notice of them might suitably have been included in the present work, as their sway embraced some of the more northern parts of the Bombay Presidency; but I have never had leisure to study their records". [1896: 279, fn. 2] The earliest Prakrit inscriptions accessible to him from Karnataka at that time were the two stone epigraphs from Banavasi (Naga Image Inscription) and Malavalli (pillar inscription). He says that "they are of the time of a king named Haritiputra-Satakarni, of the Vinhukadadutu or Vinhupaduchutu family, in respect of whom the 'Malavalli' record further tells us that he belonged to the Manavya *gotra* or clan, and probably also that he was one of the kings of Vaijayanti, *i.e.* Banawasi". [Fleet 1896: 277-78] He cites the opinion of Buhler that this second-century AD ruler, because of the title 'Satakarni', may be associated particularly with the Andhrabhritya dynasty. [1896: 279] We now know that the ruler's name was Vinhukada (probably Prakrit form of Vishnu-Skanda) and that he belonged to the Chutu-Ananda family. The coins of the kings bearing names suffixed with *Ananda* (Mudananda, Sivalananda, etc) have come to light thus revealing some more names of this family which may be appropriately designated as *Ananda* family. [Bhat 2003:50-57]

Pre-Chalukya Dynasties or Dynasties Near-Contemporary or Contemporary with Chalukya

Fleet thereafter considers the places, regions and kings of South India mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and discusses about their location. Similarly he recapitulates the various countries connected with the subjugation by Kirtivarma I as mentioned in the Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of Mangalesa. [1896: 280-81] This inscription and the Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II are relied upon by him for discussing the places, peoples and ruling dynasties of South India. [1896: 282]

Thus Fleet discusses about these families which were either pre-Chalukya or near their near contemporaries. He places the Nalas, in Bellary and Karnul region on grounds of Nalavadi *vishaya* mentioned in an epigraph of Vikramaditya I. [Fleet 1896: 282]; About the Mauryas [ibid.] of Konkana, he suggests that their capital was "Puri, the goddess of fortune of the western ocean". He was not certain about its identification and lists the identifications suggested by others: Thana, Gharapuri or Elephanta, Rajpuri in Kolaba or Rajapur in Ratnagiri District. He considers them as possible descendants of the famous Maurya dynasty of Pataliputra. He notes that Maurya kings of Konkana region figure later

also at least up to 11th Century AD and that Valabhi, or modern Wala in Saurasthra as their original town. [1896: 283-84]

Early Kadambas

Fleet next turns his attention to the Kadambas. [1896: 285-291] Some early Kadamba copper plate charters (to be exact, 10 as observed by Fleet himself) were already known by this time, and Fleet himself had edited seven of them. Further he had the knowledge of the famous Talagunda Pillar Inscriptions of Santivarma, which at that time had not been published yet but he accessed it from Rice and used its content in his work. [1896: 286] But what is interesting is that Fleet keeps Chalukya Kirtivarma I's conquest of Kadambas, referred to in Chalukya inscriptions as the reference point: "The Kadambas, again, are first mentioned in connection with the same king Kirtivarman I., who is spoken of as breaking up their confederacy; and his conquest of Banawasi, which was their chief city, is referred to in all the copper-plate records that include his name and also in the Mahakuta pillar inscription, where the name used for the city is Vaijayanti." [1896: 285] Fleet distinguished the 'Kadambas' from the 'Kaadambas'. He specifically mentions this: "Two later families, - called, with a slight difference in the first syllable of the name, Kaadambas, - will be noticed further on, in Chapter VIII. And we are

concerned here with only an early family, which is known chiefly from ten copper-plate grants, of which seven were obtained at Halsi in the Khanapur taluka, belgaum District, and three at Devagere in the Karajgi taluka, Dharwad District." [1896: 285] Unlike Rice, he did not confuse between the early Kadamba family and the later Kadamba families of Hanagal and Goa.

Though none of the cooper-plate charters available then referred to any pedigree of the Kadambas, the unpublished Talagunda pillar inscription gave him all the information required to trace it from Mayura to Santivarma. However, he qualifies Raghu's brother Kakusthavarma as *Bhagirathi* Kakusthavarma. [1896: 286; also pedigree on ibid. p 289] What follows this is a brief account of the copper plates of Kadamba kings then known: Halsi plates of *yuvaraja* Kakustha; Halsi and Davanagere plates of Mrigesavarma; Halsi plates of Ravivarma; Halsi plates of Harivarma; Devagere plates of Maharaja Krishnavarman and Yuvaraja Devavarman; Banahalli plates of Krishnavarman II; and Kudagere plates of Vijaya-Siva-Mandhatrivarman. He adds that king Damodara referred to in the Konnur rock inscription near Gokak indicated the north-east point of the Kadamba territory. He did not try to establish the dates of the reign-periods of any of the Kadamba kings, but stopped

with the statement that "At present, all that can be safely said is, that the Kadambas are to be referred approximately to the sixth century A.D." [1896: 291]

He could not identify the Kadamba lineage that commenced from Krishnavarma I. In the pedigree he suggested that Kakusthavarma had apart from Santivarma, another son. He did not name him. We now know that he was Krishnavarman I, the performer of *asvamedha* and a son of Kakusthavarma, from whom a new line of Kadambas called Kadambas of Triparvata descended. We know also of a third branch of the Kadambas which for a span of time ruled from Uchchasringi (modern Uchchhangi) as the capital. We will point out the developments in respect genealogy and chronology of the early Kadamba families later on.

Sendrakas

Fleet makes brief notice of the Sendrakas. [1896: 292] He refers to Bhanusakti mentioned in the copper plate charter of Kadamba Harivarma. All other chiefs of Sendraka family mentioned by him – Sendraka Srivallabha Senanandaraja of Chiplun charter of Pulakesi II, Devasakti of Vikramaditya I's reign, Sendraka Maharaja Pogilli of king Vinayaditya's time, Sendra Durgasakti, son of Kundasakti, son of Vijayasakti – were contemporaries of Chalukyas of Badami, ruling in different regions as

their subordinates, and Fleet knew this well. In addition, he mentions the Sendraka princes mentioned in the Bagumra grant (Nausari District, Gujarat) and clearly states that Bhanusakti of this line should not be mistaken for Bhanusakti of Harivarma's record [1896: 292, fn.2]. He believed that Sendraka crest was probably an elephant. However, we know from the seal attached to the Huli plates of Mangalesa that their royal crest was 'a tigress feeding her cub'. [Padigar 2010: No. 11]

Katachchuris or Kalachuris

Fleet traces the Katachchuris mentioned in connection with Mangalesa's conquests to the Kalachuri stock of Dahala or Chedi country in Central India, whose significant history can be traced back to 249 AD when they founded the Kalachuri-Chedi Era. Equating them with descendants of Sahasrabahu-Arjuna or Sahasrarjuna, and to Arjunayanas of Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, he discusses certain references to the family in 4^{th}-5^{th} Centuries AD which are of little relevance to Karnataka. [1896: 293-95]. But he is able to establish the presence of the Kalachuris in Nasik District on the basis of coins issued by one Krishnaraja, whom Fleet correctly identifies with Kalachuri king of that name. This Krishnaraja was the father of Sankaragana whose son

Buddharaja was the Katachchuri king defeated by Mangalesa. [1896: 295-96]

Western Gangas

Fleet to begin with was totally unconvinced of the genuineness of the early Ganga copper-plates brought to notice by B. L. Rice, and had denied the existence of such a ruling family in Mysore for quite some time. He did include a long discussion on the 'Western Gangas' in DKD. [1896: 297-309]

Fleet begins his account with a reference Ganga kings of Kalinganagara (Odisha). He then comes to the Gangas of Karnataka via the town Kolahalapura the establishment of which in Gangavadi province by a predecessor of king Anatavarma-Choda-gangadeva is referred to in the Vizagapatam grants of 1078 AD. He agrees with Rice's identification of this town with modern Kolar, the headquarters of the same district in Karnataka. [1896: 297-98] He accepted that there was 'some Ganga family' which the early Kadamba epigraphs of pre-Chalukya period referred to. But he was not ready to accept the genuineness of the records on the basis of which Rice had reconstructed the Ganga genealogy. This is what he writes in DKD: "There have, indeed, been known for a long time past various copper-plate charters, which purport to give an unbroken

genealogical list going back to the first century A.D. and to furnish specific early dates in connection with certain names in it . . .. And such supposed information as is derivable from them, from some other epigraphic records which have yet been fully made available, and from a Tamil chronicle called *Kongudesa-Rajakkal*, has been compiled and published by Mr. Rice, with the result of a tolerably lengthy and circumstantial account, such as it is. But the charters in question are all spurious; the information based on them or on the sources from which they were concocted, and included in later charters that may be genuine, are equally inadmissible; and the chronicle is absolutely worthless for any historical purposes. Almost everything that has been written on the understanding that the records in question, and the chronicle, furnish authentic information, requires to be ignored and cancelled. And the general result is, that no individual Western Ganga names are as yet forthcoming for the early period with which this chapter specially deals; and we can treat here only of somewhat later times. Out of the names mentioned in the spurious charters, the first one which is certainly known to be authentic is that of the Maharaja Sripurusha-Prithuvi-Kongani, or, as he was more fully styled, Muttarasa-Sripurusha-Prithuvi-Kongani. . . . But all that can as yet be said with certainty about this Muttarasa-Sripurusha-

Prithuvi-Kongani or more shortly Sripurusha-Muttarasa, is, that he was a reigning king, belonging, no doubt, to the Western Ganga lineage, and that, pending more precise discoveries, he may be placed in the period A.D. 750 to 850." [1896:300-301] Thus whatever he writes of the Western Gangas in *DKD* falls in post-Calukya period. The contradiction was that, the one hand he was ready to accept the existence of a Ganga family in pre-Chalukya times, but was not ready to accept the names of the early rulers occurring in copper-plates on the other. This virtually amounted to denying against his own confession the 'existence' of early Gangas themselves. Panchamukhi writes: "Rice never agreed with him (Fleet). He at last discovered the Penugonda plates of Madhava III which were admitted by Fleet as genuine. He edited them in the *Epigraphia Indica* and proved the existence of the Gangas as a ruling dynasty of Mysore. His subsequent discoveries of stone inscriptions of Sripurusha etc. supported this conclusion. At last Fleet had to accept Rice's conclusions. Rice, in his obituary notice on Fleet mentions the fastidious and dogged tenacity of Fleet and writes, - 'Fleet wrote to me a letter in the Ganga controversy, Mr. Rice, give up the Gangas, I shall do anything for you'." [Panchamukhi 1976: 5] Now we know that Rice was right and Fleet was wrong. The volume of inscriptions of the Western Gangas edited by

Ramesh goes to the extent of saying that even the records which are branded as spurious have information that cannot be set aside as unhistorical. [Ramesh 1984 (a): Introduction]

Alupas

Fleet then considers the Alupas. He points out that they are mentioned as Alupas or Aluvas in the Early Chalukya inscriptions. He writes, "Who the Alupas precisely were, has still to be ascertained. But if they are identical with the Alukas, who are included among the hostile peoples whose kings, according to the Mahakuta pillar inscription, were conquered by Kirtivarma I between A.D. 567 and 597, then, as *aluka* is an epithet of Sesha, the chief of the serpent race, we may perhaps have in them a division of the Nagas. And the passages in the grants of Vinayaditya seem to indicate that they had the feudatory government of the Edevolal *vishaya*, which lay just on the north-east of Banawasi, and may perhaps be identified with the Edenad seventy of other records." [1896: 309] Obviously, Fleet was unable to locate the Alupas/Aluvas/Alukas in the region of Dakshina-Kannada-Udupi districts, where they had the capitals at Udyavara and Mangalapura (Mangalore). We know that Alupas were among the trusted subordinates of Chalukyas

of Badami until the time of Vijayaditya and even had matrimonial relations with them. [Padigar 2010: Introduction]

Latas, Malavas and Gurjjaras

Fleet also considers these three countries/dynasties. [1896: 309-316] But we need not discuss about them here because geographically, in the pre-Chalukya period they are of little relevance to Karnataka. However, the first two regions regularly figure in the Early Chalukya records and we may consider them in that period.

Pallavas

Fleet starts the account of the Pallavas by stating that "they were the most powerful and aggressive foes that the Chalukyas encountered". [1896: 316] The situation escalated from the time of Pulakeshin II and reached its pitch during the time of Vikramaditya II when epigraphs described the Pallavas as 'the natural enemy' (*prakrityamitra*) and 'family foe'. [Ibid.] He goes on to narrate that the Pallavas claimed to belong to Bharadvaja *gotra* and that in the records from the seventh century A.D. onwards they claimed descent from 'god Brahman, and through Angiras, Brihaspati, Samyu, Bharadvaja, Drona and Asvathaman to certain Pallava, the mythical founder of the line of kings.' "And the name of this eponymous person is explained as having been taken from the fact that he

lay on a couch covered with a heap of sprouts (*pallava*)". [ibid. 317] But he was not happy with this explanation, and believed that the 'name pallava simply represents, in a Sanskritised form, that of the Pahlavas, Pahnavas, or Palhavas, who are mentioned in the *Puranas*, and in other records, along with the Sakas and the Yavanas.' Hence he attributes a foreign origin to them, a people coming into to the subcontinent from north-west India. So far as their movement into the peninsula is concerned, he traces evidence in the Junagadh inscription wherein a Palhava Suvisakha is mentioned. [ibid.] To trace their movement further south into Tamil Nadu, he takes support of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, in which a certain Vishnugopa of Kanchi is listed among the southern kings conquered by Samudragupta. On the basis of references to Nolamba-Pallavas, he argues that a greater part of Bellary District of Madras Presidency was acquired by the Pallavas about the middle of the seventh Century A.D. [Ibid. 318]

Fleet has formulated a pedigree of early Pallavas, later on known to scholars as Pallavas of Prakrit Charters, from two Prakrit copper plate charters, one discovered in Guntur District and another in Bellary District. [Ibid. 321] He goes on to reconstruct the pedigree of the Pallavas of Sanskrit Charters also [Ibid. 323], but we may note that these were

contemporaneous with the Chalukyas of Badami. Further he goes on to consider the Nolamba-Pallavas of Nolambavadi-32000, contemporaneous with the Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas of Kalyana. [Ibid. 320-333] Hence no reference to them would be needed here. Fleet closes the first chapter with mention of few detached names, such as Vijayanandivarman of Salankayana *gotra*, Attivarman and Prithivimula. [Ibid. 333-334].

The most important chapter in EHD relevant to our study here is the one related to Western Chalukyas of Badami. [Ibid. 335-361]. His genealogical and chronological account, briskly discussed in the work, remains standard to this day with minor variations. He considers the background of the Chalukya dynasty, the traditional account of their origin as delineated in the later Eastern Chalukya records etc which he dismisses as "vague legend and Puranic myths of no authority."[Ibid. 342] In treating the Chalukya rulers, Fleet emphasizes on the various epithets applied to the kings and narrates their achievements by a critical examination of epigraphic statements. He fixed the end of rule of Kirtivarma I at 597 or 598 AD on the basis of Mahakuta pillar inscription of Mangalesa. Until recently this date was widely accepted as correct. Now by a reexamination of authorship of certain copper plate records, Dikshit [1980] and Ramesh [1984] have proposed that his reign should

have come to end about 591 or 592 AD. In his account of Polekesi II, apart from inscriptions, Fleet has used the evidence of Hiuen-Tsang [Fleet 1896: 352-355]. As to the public crowning of Polekesi II, he suggested that it must have taken place at the point when after defeating Harsha, he became the master of three Maharashtrakas. [Ibid. 350]. At the defeat of Polekesi II at the hands of Narasimhavarman I, Fleet believed that the occupation of Badami was followed by the destruction of Vaishnava temples of Chalukyas there, as the Pallavas were Saivas. [Ibid. 359]. Fleet is brief in treating the various rulers of the Chalukyas dynasty. However, he used a system of enlisting the important epigraphs of each ruler while treating him and recording their contents. This system influenced Deshpande [1926], Laksminarayan Rao and Panchamukhi [1946] and Panchamukhi [1967] in their histories of early Karnataka.

Fleet was obviously an epigraphist turned historian. When no authentic historical narrative of Karnataka was available to him, he strived hard on the basis of epigraphs, most of which he read himself, to create a very reliable account of political history of early Karnataka.

CHAPTER - V

N. LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO AND HIS WORK

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NELAMANGALA LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO was born in Hebbur (Tumkur District) on May 15, 1898 as the son of Sri Subbanna and Smt. Lakshmidevamma. His early education was in Chikkaballapur and Bangaluru. He obtained his M.A. Degree from the Maharaja's College at Mysore. He joined as the Epigraphical Assistant (Kannada Language) in the Madras Branch of the Archaeological Survey of Indi in 1921. Later on he was selected as the Assistant Epigraphist in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Having served for 37 years in that office he retired as the Government Epigraphist in 1957 at Ootacamund.

After retirement, Rao was associated with the *Kannada Nighantu* project, proposed to bring out a series of volumes of Kannada dictionary on behalf of Kannada Sahitya Parishattu. His expertise in Kannada

inscriptions made it possible for him to make several suggestions in bringing out that dictionary. It was his study of epigraphs which brought him great name. In respect of most of the controversies in emanating in the interpretation of inscriptions his opinions were reckoned as final. Under him were trained Shrinivas Ritti and B.R.Gopal who have contributed greatly in the field of epigraphy.

On the occasion of its Diamond Jubilee Celebrations in 1973 Rao was honoured by the Mythic Society of Bangaluru. He was honoured also by the Epigraphical Society of India in its first conference held in the Karnatak University at Dharwad in 1975 in which he was presented a copper plate *prashasti* in recognition of his contribution to the field of epigraphy. He passed away on January 14, 1979 at Kolhapur.

The works of Rao

Rao's area of study not only covered Karnataka but also spilled over Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. He focused principally on editing and publishing new inscriptions, re-editing the known inscriptions, reconstructions of history relying on epigraphs and to some extent the study of coins. He concern for Kannada was indeed great. This is demonstrated by his numerous writings in Kannada language.

Apart from touring in north Karnataka for copying inscriptions in the Bombay Karnataka region as a part of his official duty and producing four volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions* (Vols. IX, X, XI and XVIII), parts of *Epigraphica Indica* Volumes (Vol.XXVII, XXIX and XXX) and *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* (for the years 1939 to 1950), he published about 50 research papers in various reputed journals. Jointly with R.S.Panchamukhi, he authored the book titled *Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu* (1946). He contributed two long articles on the Chalukyas of Badami to *Karnataka Darshana* [in *R.R.Diwakar Festschrift*] and the *Maharashtra Gazetteer* (1967). The list of his publications is appended to this paper.

Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu

Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu (Dynasties of Karnataka), (Written on the basis of primary sources like Inscriptions etc; from the early times to 10th Century) Vol.I (1946), was a joint enterprise of N.L.Rao and R.S.Panchamukhi. Its history goes back to 1926, when both the scholars were working together at Ootucmund as Kannada Assistants in the the Office of the Government Epigraphist. Completed as early as in 1929, it was first submitted for publication in 1931 to the Karnataka Ithihasa Samshodhaka Mandala located in Dharwad. But due to various

reasons, the Mandala could not take it up for publication. The authors approached the publication section of the University of Mysore and it was decided to publish it in installments in the *Prabuddha Karnataka.* Accordingly the first chapter of the work on the Kadambas was published in two installments (Vol.20, pt. 1 and 2). Meanwhile, the Karnataka Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala approached the authors again expressing their desire to publish the work in one volume early. In 1939, the manuscript was sent to the Mandala, but the Second World War caused further delay. It was only when the conditions improved that the work came out in book form in 1946. In the preface to the book the authors have regretted that the new material that came out during the 16 years after its writing, could not be incorporated, but that the new discoveries during that period did not counter the conclusions drawn in the book.

After Fleet's *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts* and B.L.Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, perhaps the most important work on the history of Karnataka was *Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu.* Its purpose was to thoroughly and critically examine the then available epigraphic and related sources for reconstructing the history of the dynasties of Karnataka up to the 10th Century. The dynasties of Kadambas, Chalukyas, Gangas of Talakadu, Nolambas and Banas are

considered in five separate sections. However, the Rashtrakutas are excluded, for reasons explained by the authors. The first section begins with the Kadambas, who are described in this work as the first dynasty to have founded an independent kingdom in Karnataka. However it also makes a short attempt to trace the pre-Kadamba history of the region from the Mauryas to the early Pallavas of Kanchi, through Satavahanas and Chutus. Further it traces the political situation of the Deccan before the time of the founding of the Kadamba dynasty. The authors have given attention primarily to fixing the chronology and genealogy of the dynasties, listing the inscriptions of different rulers and treating summarily the religious and social conditions. Among the significant contributions of this work are: the suggestion that the Kadambas may have branched off into three lines after Kakusthavarma; the use of the term Chalukya insteadof Chaalukya for the dynasty which ruled from Badami; tracing the Chalukya line down to Taila II of the Chaalukya dynasty of Kalyana; locating ancient administrative divisions and identifying their modern equivalents with headquarters; importance given to minor chiefdoms like the Banas; summary account of the religious conditions; and photographic illustrations of certain monuments and inscriptions. There is an implication in this work that apart from political

history, cultural dimensions also need to be taken into account in writing history. The work is authenticated by the use of extensive notes and discussions which are appended to the various parts. A significant aspect of the work is that true to its title it treats contemporary geographical limits of Karnataka while delineating the history of dynasties. Thus the Satavahanas, for instance, are placed outside its purview. The authors had contemplated a second Volume covering the dynasties that ruled from the 10th Century onwards, but that did not materialize.

Among the other aspects of Rao's contributions, mention needs to be made of his giving proper attention to the micro-regional histories. He located and identified numerous ancient and medieval administrative divisions of Karnataka with great precision along with their headquarters.

The original linguistic and geographical affiliation of the various dynasties was one of the principal concerns of Rao's contemporaries. Rao too was in this race. In his paper on the Chalukyas of Badami contributed to *Maharashtra Gazetteer*, he vehemently argued that the Chalukyas of Badami were a dynasty of Kannada origin. He arrived at this conclusion on the basis of certain names of Chalukya kings such as Katti-arasa (Kirtivarma), Polekesi, Bittarasa, etc in which *arasa* is a Kannada designation for king or ruler.

On the whole, Rao shines out as a meticulous researcher. Like his contemporaries his principal concerns were with facts of history. Hence one cannot discern any paradigms for explaining the past. His researches have not only enriched the political aspects of Karnataka history but have set at rest a number of discrepancies that had plagued its details.

CHAPTER - VI

R.S. PANCHAMUKHI AND HIS WORK

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RAGHAVENDRACHARYA PANCHAMUKHI born on May 4, 1898 was the son of Svamirayacharya and Savitribayi. The family to which he belonged was famous for its scholarship in Sanskrit and *Dvaita* philosophy of Madhvacharya. His ancestors were worshippers of the Panchamukhi Hanuman at Ganadhal near Raichur. They were disciples of Raghavendra Swamiji of Mantralaya. The village Koppa on Malaprabha river bank in Ron Taluk of Gadag District had been given to this family to run a *gurukula.*

Panchamukhi's early education was under his father. In Jalihal (Badami Taluk), he had his primary education and in F.G.A.V. School at Bagalkot and Victoria High School in Dharwad he completed middle school education. He passed matriculation in 1917 and joined the Karnatak College at Dharwad. In 1919 he joined the Deccan College in

Pune for studying B.A., but in 1921, in support of the Gandhiji's Non-cooperation movement he boycotted the B.A. examination. Enterprising as he was, He started the National School in Bagalkot with the help of some friends. The school did not run for long. He joined the Karnatak College and completed his B.A. Honours Degree. He stood first to the Mumbai University in Kannada and first to the College in Sanskrit in that examination. He was awarded Shri R.B. Deepad Gold Medal and the two-year Dakshina Fellowship. In 1925, he obtained M.A. degree with Sanskrit (*Vedanta*) and Kannada as electives.

He joined the Epigraphy branch of the Archaeological Survey of India at Ootucmund in the August 1925. He was lucky to work under renowned epigraphists like Shri H. Krishna Sastri and Shri K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar. As part of his duties in the epigraphy branch, he copied the inscriptions in Mumbai Karnataka 1926 and 1939, a project begun by N. Lakshminarayan Rao. Telugu and Tamil languages he learned and began to read inscriptions in those languages. These inscriptions have been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions* volumes VI, VII, etc.

Shri Panchamukhi became the Director of Kannada Research Institute at Dharwad in 1939. This institute had been established by the

Bombay Government. In a small room in the Karnatak College, with the Director, a clerk and a few books at its disposal he initiated the work of the institute. Before long it became a model Institute in the northern part of Karnataka. Within a short period he planned the research to be done in Mumbai Karnataka on Kannada and Culture. He had two Research Fellows to work under him. With such a thin staff he able to collect large number of manuscripts, inscriptions, coins, bronze and stone images, archival documents, etc. This helped to develop the museum of the Institute. During 1939-53 Panchamukhi discovered over 40 archaeological sites including the early historic sites of Vadagaon, Herakal, etc. A significant library housing thousands of research based books came into existence. About 500 stone inscriptions, copper plate records and manuscripts were collected. Under his guidance, A.M. Annigeri, during his survey (1943-53) of Akkalkot Taluk, Sangali Principality, Hirekerur and Hanagal taluks, and Belgaum district, discovered significant Chalcolithic sites like Saptasagar and the Megalithic tombs around Terdal. Narayanacharya Rajapurohit discovered a *Ukhapatra* from a sacrificial site at Itagi on the Tungabhadra river. Sri Panchamukhi brought to light, the Vadagaon-Madhavapur Brahmi Prakrit pillar inscription of about the 1st Century A.D. The Badami cliff inscription of Chalikya Vallabhesvara

(Polekesi I), the earliest known record of the Chalukyas of Badami and the earliest Saka dated epigraph in Karnataka (Saka 465) was discovered together with the ASI. At the time of its discovery, it was the earliest known inscription in India mentioning the Saka year by name. As early as 1929, jointly with N. Lakshminarayanrao, he had prepared the *Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu.* We have already spoken about this volume while discussing about N.L. Rao. Rao Bahadur K.N.Dikshit, having taken interest in the Institute, donated about 400 antiquities from Mohenjodaro to the Institute. Sir R.E.M.Wheeler visited the Institute and had great appreciation for the work done by the Institute. Sri Panchamukhi edited the *Karnatak Inscriptions* Volumes I, II, III (part 1) and the *Annual Reports* from 1940-53. He tried to date the stone tools in Malaprabha and Krishna basins with the help of scholars like Zeuneur, V.D. Krishnaswamy and others. His interests were extensive and covered, in addition to epigraphy, the areas of numismatics, architecture and iconography, art and folk literature, Kannada and Sanskrit Literature, Indian Philosophy, *Dvaita* Philosophy, religion and *Haridasa* literature. He published works relating to the above. His *Gandharvas and Kinnaras* is a significant book on lesser known aspects of Indian iconography. Six students obtained their Ph.D. in Literature and History under his guidance.

During his tenure as Director of the Kannada Research Institute, he regularly brought out the progress reports of the Institute. These are full of new material on Karntaka's archaeology, history, culture and literature and reflect on his wide knowledge, interest and scholarship in diverse fields.

Sri Panchamukhi edited good number of literary and philosophical works with analytical introductions Kumaravyasa's *Airavata-kavya*, Chandraraja's *Madana-tilaka* (a work on erotics) and Ahobala's *Virupaksha-vasantotsava*. The last of these in particular is a significant *champu* work as it provides information on the *rathotsava* (Car-festival) of the Virupaksha temple at Hampi during the Vijayanagara period. It throws interesting light on political and social aspects of early Vijayanagara.

After his retirement Panchamukhi assumed the position of the honorary Director of the Karnataka Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala. He brought out several publications from the Institute. *An Outline of Karntaka Sculpture* (1956) and *Karnatakada Itihasa* (1967) were his significant books during thisperiod. He revived the *Karnataka Historical Review* journal. Apart from these, he edited some works on philosophy and himself composed some Sanskrit *kavyas*. His focus now was mostly

on writing works of religious nature. He started Epigraphy classes in the Institute and trained number of students in that field. This still continues as P. G. Diploma Course in the Kannada Research Institute of the Karnatak University. The Government of India and a number of institutions have honoured him for his scholarship and conferred on him several distinguished titles, such as *Vidyaratna*, *Vidyabhushana*, and *Mahamahimopadhyaya*. For him the good in history that mattered. He passed away while sitting in meditation on October 4, 1982 in New Delhi.

Karntakada Itihasa

Panchamukhi's *Karnatakada Itihasa* is a very significant work from the point of view of history of Karnataka. [Panchamukhi 1967] Unlike the earlier book *Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu* authored by him jointly with N.L. Rao, this work treats Karnataka history in a wider canvas of political and cultural developments. It does not delimit itself to the present geographical boundaries of Karnataka. It treats the history from the prehistoric times to the end of the Rashtrakutas (earliest times to 10th Century A.D.). It has two sections. The first deals with the political history and the second with the cultural. In the first section are covered such areas as the purpose of history, introduction, sources, geographical extent of India, the ancient *mahajanapadas*, the geographical extent of

Karnataka, Prehistoric Karnataka, Nandas and Mauryas and Satavahanas in Karnataka, the Pallavas, Kadambas, Chalukyas of Badami, the feudatories of the Calukyas of Badami, the extent of Chalukya kingdom, and the history of the Rashtrakutas. There are six appendices which complement the discussions. As in the *Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu*, while dealing with political history a brief account of significant inscriptions of the individual rulers is given. This may be seen as a tradition begun by Fleet in his *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*. In the second section the cultural history is treated at length. It covers the administration, education, religious conditions, architecture and sculpture, literature and social life, coins and memorial stones.

Like any epigraphist historian of the time, Panchamukhi was attracted by the problems that existed in fixing the chronologies, genealogies and achievements of kings. He engaged in lengthy discussions regarding these aspects in which he quotes from various epigraphs at length to arrive at what appeared to him as appropriate conclusion. In the case of Kadambas he reconstructs a genealogy in which he identified three branches [Panchamukhi 1967: 111] from the time of *Yuvaraja* Kakusthavarmabegun by his three sons, one begun by Santivarma which continued to rule from Banavasi, the second begun by

Kumaravarma which commenced its rule from Uchchhasringi (Ucchangi), and the third begun by Krishnavarma I which reigned from Triparvata or Mugunda, now identified with Chinna-Mulagunda in Haveri District. The only corrections to be done to his propositions in respect of the genealogies suggested by him is the fact that Virasarma, the guru of Mayuravarma mentioned in the Talagunda *prasasti* was in reality also the grandfather of Mayuravarma. This we come to know from the Gudnapura pillar epigraph of Ravivarma which was discovered later. Similarly we now know from the same epigraph that Mayuravarma's father was Bandhushena, who already displayed *kshatriya* inclinations. Very recently, two epigraphs of a hitherto unknown ruler of Banavasi Kadamba family have come to light from Haveri region. [Ritti and Padigar: 2010] These belong to Priyavratavarma. This ruler certainly ruled before *yuvaraja* Kakusthavarma, since one of these records refers to the latter. One of these records also refers to Mandhatrivarma. Thus now we have to place Priyavratavarma and Mandhatrivarma, probably ruling jointly with him, in between Raghuvarma and *yuvaraja* Kakusthavarma. The discovery of these epigraphs has also raised the issue whether *yuvaraja* Kakustha has to be considered different from the Kakusthavarma of the Talagunda record. We may also note that another copper plate record

mentioning Pulindavarma has come to light. [Samak *et al.* 2008] The record however does not establish his exact location in the Kadamba genealogy as it does not mention Pulindavarma's predecessor. A matter of significance with reference to Panchamukhi's work in respect of Kadambas is his assessment of the extent of Kadamba kingdom [Panchamukhi 1967: 127-130]. Importantly he enlists the various *vishayas* and *rashtras* and the villages included in them as identified on the basis of epigraphs [Ibid. 128-29]. Panchamukhi's account of the Kadambas is certainly based on his first hand study of epigraphs and critical study of then published opinions. But it does carry with it a tint of glorification on the lines of nationalist historians and his love of the land he belonged.

Panchamukhi's treatment of Chalukyas of Badami is considerably long [Ibid. 131-231]. He first provides an account of sources [131-134], in which lists the epigraphs, cultural remains, coins, art and architecture, literature and foreign travelers' accounts. He then discusses the political situation about the time of their rise [134-141]. He concludes in this discussion that Jayasimhavallbha, the same as the grandfather of Polekesi I, was serving under the Rashtrakuta Abhimunyu of Manapura as the commander of Harivatsa fort. He was frequently engaged on behalf of his masters the Rashtrakutas of Manapura in battles with the Kadambas

(Kuntalas); and he ultimately occupied a part of Kadamba kingdom to become its chief. [140-141]. It is noteworthy that a recent scholar has upheld this view [Dikshit 1980: 27-28], though K.V. Ramesh does not refer to this possibility at all [Ramesh 1984: 26-29].

Panchamukhi saw some element of historicity in the account of the later Eastern Chalukya records about the connection of Vishnuvardhana – Vijayaditya, of whom Vijayaditya is mentioned by them as father of Polekesi I. He upheld that Chalukyas were possibly migrants from northern India, some descendents like Chalikirannaka of the Nagarjunakonda Prakrit epigraph being proof of their early presence in the Deccan [Panchamukhi 1967: 141-143]. Perhaps taking this cue, Ramesh tries to establish [1984: 19-23] that the claim that Chalukyas migrated from Ayodhya via Gujarat and had clashes with the early Rashtrakutas of Gujarat before ultimately settling in the Deccan to become its masters. However, Panchamukhi suggests that in the Western Ghat regions where the Chalukyas resided, Kannada was the spoken language and the Chalukyas therefore became identified with Karnatakas [1967: 144].

The remaining part of the chapter on Chalukyas of Badami discusses at length the political achievements of the rulers and their chronology. By the time this work was written Panchamukhi himself had

discovered the first ever record issued by Chalukyas, namely, the Badami Cliff inscription of Polekesi I, dated 543 AD. He was thus able to demonstrate that the claim of the Chalukya epigraphs that Polekesi I had performed *asvamedha* and other sacrifices was true. [Ibid.146]

An interesting argument of Panchamukhi was in connection with the conquests of Polekesi II. He argued that the series of conquests mentioned in the Aihole Prashasti were achieved by him at a stretch before he finally entered Badami and began to rule in peace [Ibid.157]. Ramesh however viewed this issue as attempt 'to expand the sphere of his *chakravartti-kshetra*' and that these conquests were achieved in phases [Ramesh 1984: 74-90]

An important reflection of Panchamukhi was on the identification of Maharashtrakatraya of which Polekesi II is said to have become the master after defeating Harsha on the banks of the Narmada. He argues that the context shows Polekesi II's dominions were not restricted to Maharashtrakatraya alone since after mentioning this, the Aihole epigraph enlists his further conquests. According to him, *Maharashtrakatraya* (three *Maharashtrakas*) must have been between the Narmada on the one hand and Kosala and Kalinga on the other [Panchamukhi 1967: 159]. These corresponded to the regions ruled over by three Rashtrakuta

dynasties, namely, Rashtrakutas of Durgaraja's family, Rashtrakutas of Mananka's family, Rashtrakutas of Dantivarma's family. However, he proposes a different view about Maharashtraka-traya identity in the same chapter. After a considerable discussion, he arrives at the suggestion that until further evidence accumulates, Maharashtraka-traya may be identified as three large divisions of the country (of Chalukyas?) comprising Karnataka, Kuntala and Maharashtra [Ibid. 231]. It is well known that opinions still differ on the issue of the three *Maharashtrakas*. No conclusive view has arrived so far.

About the death of Polekesi II, Panchamukhi made an observation. Taking into account the repeated occurrence of the verse "*varam tejasvino mrityuh na tu manavakhandanam | Mrityustatkshaniko duhkham manabhamgam dine dine ||*" on the rocks of Badami, he conjectured that Poleksi II died after defeat at the hands of Narasimhavarman I, being unable to bear the insult. [Ibid. 173-174] However we should note that the verse occurs also in the context of prashasti of Kappe-Arabhatta which palaeographically falls in 8th Century AD and hence the conjecture of Panchamukhi may not be valid.

Among other issues of interest in the context of Panchamukhi's treatment of the Chalukyas of Badami is identification that during

Vinayaditya's time the *sakalottarapathanatha* (lord of the whole of north India) was Vajrata [Ibid. 182]. He takes cue for this from the description of Dantidurga in the epigraphs of Rashtrakutas: *Kanchisvara-Kerala-naradhipa-Chola-Pandya-Sriharsha-Vajrata -vibheda-vidhana-daksham| Karnakam balam-anantam-ajeya-rathyair-bhrityaih kiyadbhir-api yah sahasa jigaya* || (Dantidurga defeated with a handful of soldiers the Karnataka-bala (army of Karnatakas) which boasted of defeating the kings of Kanchi, Kerala, Chola, Pandya, Sriharsha and Vajrata). He attributed this defeat of Vajrata, the lord of Uttarapatha, to Vinayaditya. He pointed out that in 685 AD, Jayasimhavarma, the son of Polekesi II, had defeated this Vajjada (Vajrata). [Ibid. 183] In Vijayaditya's epigraphs, Vijayaditya as a prince is stated to have snatched away the insignia of Ganga, Yamuna, Palidhvaja, etc from *uttarapathanatha* (Vajrata) and presented before his father Vinayaditya. K.V.Ramesh also argues on the same lines and confirms the identity of *Sakalottarapathanatha* contemporary of Vinayaditya with Vajrata by providing further evidence of Alampur *prashasti* of Vijayaditya [Ramesh 1984: 129-131; Padigar 2010: No. 112]. Panchamukhi also conjectured rightly that the Chalukya branch at Vemulavada was established by one of the sons of Vinayaditya [Panchamukhi 1967: 185; 218-222].

Panchamukhi treats the administration of the Kadambas and Chalukyas together [Ibid. 320-338], while he treats Rashtrakuta administration separately. However, the treatment follows traditional approach. Similarly, religion is considered in a separate section [Ibid.357-374] and the author treats Buddhist remains in Karnataka separately [Ibid. 375-386]. Basically these follow the then established norm of prevalence of various religions and sects receiving patronage from all rulers. But in respect of Buddhism, Panchamukhi makes a value judgment that "the remains of the Buddhism in Karnataka loudly pronounce to the Indians that as wished by Buddha and insisted by Ashoka in his edicts, one should practice Dharma; the Buddhist concepts of *akrodha* (non-violence), *santi* (peace), *satya* (truth) and *dana* (giving gift) have to brought into practice and will obtain appropriate merit." [Ibid. 386]. This is in-keeping with Panchamukhi's idea of history as discipline giving moral lessons to the people of the present.

Later writes on early Karnataka history also have treated religion in the same framework. It must be observed that religion being an aspect of society cannot be considered static. All religious sects undergo changes, giving scope for accommodating ramifications and deletions to mythology, beliefs and practices. Being part and parcel of culture,

religions also have a history. This situation has been understood well by other scholars dealing with histories of religions in the context of early Karnataka. Separate historical treatment of Vaishnavism [Padigar 1997] and Saivism [Kadapatti 2007-08] in early Karnataka have given a picture of those religions as to the changes occurring in the beliefs and practices.

Panchamukhi also treats the subject of arts. He first deals with general aspects of arts including fine arts and music [Panchamukhi 1967: 287-289]. In the next part he focuses on Karnataka and proposes that artistic activities started right in the pre-historic period as evidenced in rock bruisings of Gombigudda and Kupgal. [Ibid.395]. Further he believed that Megalithic dolmens were precursors of Buddhist stupa. [Ibid. 394]. He puts forth the view that Karnataka nurtured temple architectural styles that derived from *Dravida* (Pallava) and *Northern* (Gupta) and even introduced an admixture of both styles. [Ibid. 395]. He correctly observes that swollen chin is a character of Chalukya sculpture. But his observation that blunted noses are also a character of Chalukya sculptural style is incorrect. [Ibid. 402]. It has been shown that the Chalukya sculptures in Badami caves which exhibit blunted noses are actually reworked during the Vijayanagara period. He draws attention to the fact that epigraphs refer to a number of artists who built temples or

carved sculputures, like Revadi-Ovajja the disciple of Sarvasiddhi-Acharya who made the Papanatha at Pattadakal and Narasobba, the expert architect who made the Huchchappayya-gudi at Aihole. [Ibid.402]. A separate brief section on sculpture at Pattadakal is also interesting in Panchamukhi's work. [Ibid. 403-408]. In this section, aside from providing an aesthetic appreciation of the sculptures he gives a classified list of temples according to the *southern* or *northern* styles. A small section also treats the art of the Gangas of Talakadu. [Ibid. 414-415]. However focus here is on Shravanabelgola and Talakadu monuments, which belong in the 10th Century AD. Certain line drawings of musical instruments [Ibid. 416], dance postures [Ibid. 431], varieties of weapons [Ibid.432; 441], hairstyles [Ibid.], dresses [Ibid. 433], hunting [Ibid.], and family life [Ibid. 441-442] enhance the value of the treatment on arts and life of the people of the Chalukya period in Panchamukhi's work. It may be added that there are sections on Prakrit, Sanskrit and Kannada language and literature [Ibid. 437-474] and Agriculture, Commerce and Economic development [Ibid.475-478]. However, for the most part the treatment in this section relates to the evidence of post-Chalukya period. One of the interesting interpretations in this section pertains to the *Gosasa-menti* tradition, begun in the later phase of the rule of Chalukyas of Badami. It

became popular during the 8^{th}-10^{th} Century span in certain parts of Karnataka. [Panchamukhi 1967: 477] He argued that this was connected with agricultural expansion and we may add that recent research supports this interpretation. [Hubballi 2011]. In a small section on Coins he discusses the Punch-marked coins, Roman coins, Satavahana coins, Kadamba and Chalukya coins mostly on the basis of a few coin finds and epigraphic references. [Ibid. 485-488].

There is also a small section on hero-stones and memorial stones which discusses the types and incidents leading to their setting up during the post-Chalukya period. [Ibid. 489-492].

The last section of Panchamukhi's work deals with ancient Kannada people. It is in fact a treatment on social classes, their duties and professions, the patronage extended to experts and so on. [Ibid.493-499] The emphasis is on the Brahmin community obviously because the material in epigraphs essentially pertains to them. However, he identified that adept artists were honoured by kings. He quoted the honour conferred on *Sutradhari* (architect) of Lokesvara temple at Pattadakal. He has in this context correctly conjectured that apart from three times perjerepu conferred on the *sutradharis*, *balli-gavarate* (tax) on *Binnanis* (expert craftsmen) was exempted. [Ibid. 496]. The term *balli-gavarte* has been

misunderstood as tax on betel leaves. The real meaning as correctly conjectured by Panchamukhi is tax, that is, profession tax on families of craftsmen.

The presentation of the material in *Karnatakada Itihasa* is normally in the form of discussions particularly with extensive quotations from epigraphs and reflects the wide range of Panchamukhi's scholarship. Almost every aspect of history and culture of Karnataka finds a significant place in this work.

Panchamukhi's view of purpose and use of history

It is interesting to note that in this work Panchamukhi was vocal in his view on purpose of history. "The purpose of history lies in educating the man to benefit himself by the past lessons, know his capacities by comparative study of the impelling forces, determine his duties and perform them unobstructed so that he might get rid of the worries and miseries of this life to which he is exposed by some unseen Power, i.e., God. If knowledge of the past does not reflect and produce a plane in one's mind to equip itself suitably to meet the heterogeneous forces that confront him in this journey of life ably and smoothly and lead the knower to permanent happiness unmixed with sorrow, why should he worry

himself about the doings of the past which have no bearing upon his present life?" He felt that the materialist interpretation of history was not worth the while. Quoting D. D. Kosambi for the stand point of materialist interpreters, he says that in the present poor state of economy of India such a stand might obtain approval. In a lecture delivered in 1968 in Pune, Sri Panchamukhi says, "An Archaeologist, or an Epigraphist who wanders in ruined cities or capitals of devastated empires for cultural remains is bound to be impressed by the evanescence of material wealth, however gorgeous it might be. The first lesson he learns is the strength of humility in power." India had led the nations of the world", he believed, "by her spiritual superiority. The administrative institutions, trade-guilds and organizations, a code of conduct and the system of education in ancient India, are some of the rich contributions made by the ancient seers and thinkers to the ancient Indian Polity. They were all controlled and dominated by the awareness of spiritual consciousness in ancient India in virtue of which, India had become an invincible power in the world." He further says, "Indology . . . teaches us to be active and alert in the execution of our duty. . . . The highest benefit derived from the Indological studies is the unchallengeable conviction that India is an undivided composite whole nation dominated by the powerful divine

Vedic culture, in spite of several administrations existing in different geographical units." It is obvious that Panchamukhi was entertaining a view of past of India similar to the one held by Orientalists and later nationalists. Given the conditions under which he studied Karnataka's past, this was not surprising. Contemporary view of Indian history held by nationalists had its impact on him.

Thus in the galaxy of scholars contemporary to him Panchamukhi stands out distinctly for his contributions to the fields of archaeological, epigraphical, historical, philosophical research and to Sanskrit and Kannada literature. But he was also as the builder of an institution that dedicated itself to enriching the history and culture of northern Karnataka region. He followed a critical methodology in the assessment of sources for objective reconstruction of Karnataka's History. But he was a strange blend of objective historian and strong spiritual pursuer. The introduction to *Karnatakada Itihasa* [Panchamukhi 1967: xi-xvi] demonstrates that he was out and out a *Madhva* in his beliefs, and firmly believed in the supremacy of god Narayana who alone could decide the course of history. This theistic belief also implies the fatalistic view of course of history, because if Narayana is the *niyamaka*, then there is no question of course of historical development independent of His Will.

CHAPTER - VII

RESUME AND CONCLUSIONS

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In the foregoing chapters we had occasion to examine certain aspects of the development of historiography in Karnataka and certain scholars and their contribution to early Karnataka historiography. It should be clear by now that historians focusing on early history of Karnataka laid emphasis on political development and cultural aspects are scantily dealt with by them. It becomes necessary therefore to identify why this is the case. Bhandarkar was a great Sanskritist and therefore was excellent in handling epigraphic material which was in Sanskrit. He made use of his talent for writing a connected history of the early Deccan when there was none. Like administrators' histories, his work was dominated by accounts relating to political history where in origins of dynasties, genealogies of kings and chronologies of successions of kings. Other aspects of culture, like economic and social developments, achievements

in the fields of art and architecture were not treated in proper light. It should also be remembered that the work was written as part of a Gazetteer, which required different way of treating the subject.

Fleet, a pioneer in reconstructing a reliable early political history of Karnataka was also basically a Sanskritist with good acquaintance Kannada, the language of Karnataka. He recognized that in the absence of historical narratives epigraphs found in thousands in Karnataka could be harnessed to reconstruct the political past of early Karnataka. He used his office to get epigraphs copied and in addition utilized the copies of epigraphs collected by Col. Mackenzie. With his expertise in Sanskrit and Kannada, he was able to prepare texts of large number of epigraphs and publish them in renowned Journals like the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The list of his publications should bring home any one the fact that several terms occurring in inscriptions drew his attention and that he did his best to explain them, by himself or with the help of local scholars, in the foot-notes while editing epigraphs. One can note the fact that his writings are flooded with foot-notes. But while writing his *Early Dynasties*, he was careful enough to focus on political aspects in relation to the various dynasties that ruled the region. From this perspective, perhaps he fits well

in the class of historians described as 'administrator historians', discussed in the first chapter. But it would be a moot point to observe if he had the same attitude and bias as entertained by administrator historians towards India. However he can certainly be regarded as an 'epigraphist historian' to whom political data and chronological issued mattered very much. Fleet in fact established a tradition in Karnataka historiography which was faithfully followed by most historians that wrote on early Karnataka history: concerns about origins of dynasties, original homes of the dynasties, genealogies, chronologies of successions, and so on.

The remaining historians like Rao and Panchamukhi considered in this work were sons of the soil of Karnataka. They were in reality scholars dedicated to epigraphy and to an extent to the study of literature. They were very good in Prakrit, Sanskrit and the vernacular, sometimes in other Dravidian languages, and so also in editing epigraphs. Epigraphs are basically documents containing historical data. And an epigraph edited brings forth such data, often called 'source' for the use of critical historian. So these scholars apart from editing epigraphs attempted at creating a connected narrative from these data. Facts were more important for them. When Rao and Panchamukhi wrote on *Karnatakada Arasumanetanagalu*, India was in the mood of national movement for

independence. A lot of historical literature on Indian past which made appearance during that time was 'nationalistic'. Its impact was bound to be there on the historians of Karnataka.

But more than that, the feeling of regional identity was being formulated about this time. Savants like Alur Venkatrao were seriously engaed in the activity of organizing the Kannadigas and a geographically united Karnataka which was then divided between Mysore State under the Odeyars, Hyderabad State under the Nizam, the Bombay and Madras provinces under the British control. As early as 1917, Venkatrao had realized the need for using the past for bringing about an emotional unity among the Kannadigas, by floating the concept of *Karnatakatva* and trying to trace its roots in history. [Alur 1917] The Chalukya and Vijayanagara periods were significant for him because of the visible art and architectural ruins they had left behind. He vocally expressed his dissatisfaction over the sleeping *Kannadigas*, who had become ignorant of their achievement in the past. He used history as a tool to awaken the sleeping *Kannadiga*. Scholars like R. H. Deshpande and Panchamukhi were part of this programme of awakening the *Kannadigas*. Like Venkatrao, R.H.Deshpande was vocal about the reason for his writing the history of Karnataka Empire. [Deshpande 1928] Their purpose was to

instill a sense of pride among the Kannada people about the glory of their past. Hence for early history of Karnataka the account *Puranas* was taken in toto as valid history, in the absence of other evidence. Deshpande was a Vaishnava Brahmin and the avataras of Vishnu were discussed by him as in connection with the land of Karnataka. Neither Venkatrao nor R.H. Deshpande were historians in the true sense because they were only obtaining historical data from published historical accounts available to them and presenting narratives with the aim of creating an emotional awareness about Kannada language, culture and country, the purpose being to bring about the linguistic-cultural-geographical unity of Kannada people. This corresponded to the developments taking place in the domain of historical writing elsewhere about this time. Therefore to expect total objectivity in their writing is unwarranted. The need for a history of Karnataka was most essential. And in order to catch the imagination of the people, the use of the vernacular for writing Karnataka history was desideratum. Alur Venkatrao, R. H. Deshpande, N. L. Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi used the vernacular for writing the history of Karnataka. This is the reason why, Kannada language was in the central stage in writing history of Karnataka.

R. S. Panchamukhi, in comparison with the earlier writers, was in an advantageous position. Apart from his training in epigraphy, he had the occasion to be the Director of an institute with a couple of assistants to aid him. The institute – the Kannada Research Institute – had come into being for focusing on and documenting the archaeological and historical wealth in northern part of Karnataka. And he did his work with enthusiasm and dedication. The result was the great wealth of historical material that accumulated and the establishment of the first museum of archaeology in the northern part of Karnataka. Apart from giving attention to editing of epigraphs and publishing them, Panchamukhi utilized the material for refining the history of Karnataka and gave an orientation to it. In his work *Karnatakada Itihasa*, he treated not only the questions of political history like the earlier scholars, but attended the material relating to cultural aspects like society, economy, religion and art unlike any others before him. But it was not an integrated presentation. At places, the work looks like hurriedly written book which could have been edited and presented in a way better that what it is. Panchamukhi had taken note of what D. D. Kosambi wrote by this time [Kosambi 1956] and though he was caustic to the latter's approach to history, he does seem to have been influenced to some extent by it.

In the same decade as Panchamukhi's afore cited work, Chidanandamurti's *Kannada Shasanagala Sanskritika Adhyayana* appeared. This was the first book to inquire into a multitude of aspects of Karnataka's culture reflected in epigraphs with authority. Chidanandamurti was from the discipline of Kannada language and linguistics, and not from the disciple of history. His work however became a landmark and a large number of theses on the same lines were done and are still being done by history students, district-wise and taluk-wise, with little addition to our cultural knowledge. Many similar studies which should really belong to the domain of researchers in history are interestingly being brought out by students of Kannada language and literature. Application of newer historical research methodologies can be least expected there.

One needs to realize that a lot of in-depth researches are going on in Indian context that pertain to the domain of the study of society and economy and that weave them into political developments. And new paradigms are being been attempted taking into account anthropology and sociology. The epigraphical material available in Karnataka is certainly rich when compared to other parts of the country and they are pregnant with data of diverse kinds. Similarly Kannada literature too is rich in

historical tradition. Works like Pampa's Vikramarjunavijayam for instance have bits of information that throw light on history of the Chalukyas of Badami. Jaina literature of the Rashtrakuta period, both in Sanskrit and Kannada have their own stories to tell about local culture. For the reason that the historical development of Karnataka cannot be the same in all respects compared to other parts of India, serious attempts need to be made to pursue the writing of Karnataka's history by using all these data in new paradigms and perspectives. It is a happy development that at least some attempts are being done in this direction by certain scholars.

Karnataka is one of the richest in art and architectural wealth. This wealth has justly drawn attention of the scholar right from the middle of the 19th Century. Several scholars – foreign as well as Indian – during that century and the 20th have attempted histories of art and architecture of early Karnataka, focusing particularly on the monuments of the Chalukyas of Badami. Since the discovery of Kanaganahalli Stupa complex in Gulbarga District, new material has accumulated for early history of art in Karnataka. The study of early art of Karnataka are still confined to description, chronology, style-analysis. But that the monuments are living evidence of religious beliefs and social ideologies of the time they

represent is being realized now. Thus there is scope for subjecting them to fresh study for reconstructing religious and social history too.

Thus there are lots of avenues which can be pursued to enliven the early history of Karnataka. And one hopes that scholars engaged in the investigation of early history and culture of Karnataka explore these avenues.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
AICHRI	Ancient Indian council of Historical Research Institute.
ARASI	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
ARASI	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
ARIE	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy
ARSIE	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
ASMAR	Archaeological Survey of Mysore Annual Report.
ASI	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India
ASSI	Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Madras
ASWI	Archaeological Survey of Western India, Bombay
AHD	Ancient History of Deccan by Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil
BG	Bombay Gazetteer
CHI	Cambridge History of India
CIC	Catalogue of Indian Coins
CW	Collected Works of R.G. Bandarkar, Bhandarkar oriental research institute, Pune.
DKD	Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts
EA	Epigraphia Andhrica.
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica.

EI	Epigraphia Indica, New Delhi.
EHD	Early History of the Deccan.
IA	Indian Antiquary.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London.
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JIH	Journal of Indian History, Madras
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
SII	South Indian Inscriptions.
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

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